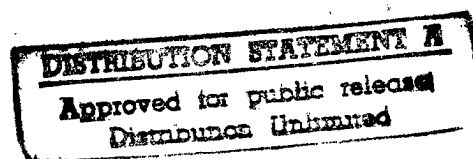


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Dashnak 'Platform' Outlines Goals in ArSSR

91AS0705A Paris GAMK in Armenian 9-24 Jan 91

[Text of the "Platform of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation," issued in Yerevan in December 1990, in 12 installments]

[9 Jan p 4]

[Excerpt]

Preamble

Today Armenia stands at one of the most important junctures of its recent history. The dominant characteristic of this juncture is a vigorous popular movement that strives to purge 70 years of totalitarianism and to restore national statehood.

At this singular period of national, political, social, and economic reblossoming, Armenia and the Armenian nation have come forth as international pioneers in a complex situation characterized by positive and negative manifestations as well as advantages and hardships. While progress continues to be made on consolidating Armenia's forces and positions, numerous mistakes inherited from the Soviet past not only persist but are compounded with fresh muddles on the path of reforming state policy.

The principal foothold that has been won for the Armenia of today and tomorrow is the creation of a nationally elected parliament. Armenia has finally been endowed with a parliament of its own which strives to:

- Create secure foundations for constitutional procedures leading to democracy in the country;
- Improve the socioeconomic conditions of our people in the Fatherland;
- Overcome the hurdles blocking the progress of the Armenian people on the path that leads from self-rule to independence;
- Facilitate the smoothing of the way for attaining our Great National Ideal.

[passage omitted]

[10 Jan p 4]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Our nation has stepped into a historic new era whose successful conclusion depends on the realization of the following objectives which can assure the coalescence of the Armenian people and the self-assertion of national forces:

First, the restoration of the foundations of national statehood. Step by step, the national and totally independent character of the Fatherland state must be underscored and the Armenian people must be endowed with the republican spirit whose principal objective and *raison d'être* must be the defense of all the interests and rights of the Armenian nation. For that purpose, a new Armenian constitution must be drafted to build a state which will encompass, organize, and utilize all the

strengths and capabilities of our nation. State authority must be popularized and democratized which requires ridding the government machinery and its institutions from party influences and the separation of the state into legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The passage of state laws and political decisions must be tied to lawful means, such as referendums, to assure the active participation of all public forces and popular groups.

Second, the creation of a modern infrastructure for the national economy. Armenia's economy must be rid of total state centralization, and state ownership must be retained only in those areas which are related to our national treasures and industrial infrastructure. Private ownership and free enterprise must be encouraged to infuse vitality into Armenia's national economy provided that these do not lead to monopolies. The government's economic role must be channeled into three tasks: (1) Planning and coordinating the framework of private investments and enterprises; (2) Collecting taxes for the realization of national projects; (3) Preventing the exploitation of labor. The autonomy of Armenia's economy must be based on the maximal utilization of our national resources.

Having these concepts in mind, inspired by the fundamental ideas of its program—in particular, relying on the proposals presented by its main organization in Armenia—and taking into account the opinions it has received from circles in the Expatria, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] presents to the Armenian people the following platform:

Political

Armenia, the Armenian Nation and the Armenian Cause

(a) The principal goal of the Dashnak Party, formulated on the basis of the nation's right of free self-determination and listening to the true voice of the Armenian people, is to build in phases a united, free, independent, national, and democratic Armenian state whose authority will gradually expand to all Armenian territories.

(b) Armenia is the ancestral home of all Armenians. Therefore, the scope of responsibilities and interests of the Armenian state must encompass all segments of the Armenian nation without any discrimination on the basis of sect or the place of their residence.

(c) In the present phase of the Armenian political life, the Armenian people must continue demanding from the Soviet Union, states allied with the West and the United States, and Turkey the resolution of the Armenian problem.

In the present alignment of international political forces, the pursuit of our national demands will be governed by the logic of priorities, always utilizing all the resources of Armenians in Armenia and the Diaspora.

(d) Based on the imperatives of regional balance, the supreme interests of the Armenian state require, first and foremost, peaceful coexistence with the peoples of the Transcaucasus and the Middle East, based on the principles of mutual respect and international recognition of rights and the full implementation of the provisions of the UN Charter in free conditions in the event of disputes or dialogues between states.

[11 Jan p 4]

[Excerpt]

Armenian Republic

(a) The Armenian Republic, which was proclaimed by the Armenian parliament on 23 August 1990, will become, by virtue of its real and legal status, the departure point for the realization of a united, free, and independent Armenia.

(b) The basic laws of the Armenian Republic—that is, its constitution—must be drafted by a Constitutive Assembly of Armenia, elected by a general, equal, direct, and secret ballot based on proportional representation. The said assembly must also include representatives of the Armenian masses who live outside the present borders of Armenia and who must have taken practical steps to claim their eternal right of Armenian citizenship or to become citizens of Armenia. The Constitutive Assembly of Armenia must have supreme powers and must not be subject to precedents in its work to set down the basic laws of the republic.

(c) Given the hardships that may be expected in the process of independence, all governments who are called to duty must consult with Armenian political parties and, if necessary, call public referenda at important junctures on the path leading to independence. [passage omitted]

[12-13 Jan p 4]

[Excerpts]

State and Judicial System

The Dashnak Party will pursue the implementation of the following principles in the present process of independence and, in the future, in the Constitutive Assembly of Armenia:

(a) As a modern democratic state, the Armenian Republic shall endorse the UN Charter, the principles of the UN's 1948 Convention on Genocide and the provisions of Declaration of Human Rights of the same year.

(b) The state structure of the republic shall be based on the principle of the equality of the three branches of government. The constitution of the republic shall define the limits of the jurisdiction of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches based on the tested principles of mutual checks and balances.

(c) The security and defense of the country's borders against external threats shall be decided in accordance with the country's supragovernmental [verapetakan] circumstances.

(d) The republic shall guarantee full freedom of thought, speech, creativity, press, publishing, and other modes of expression while ensuring the inviolability of its citizens' private lives.

(e) The republic shall guarantee the inviolability of persons, residences, correspondence, and other means of communication.

(f) The republic shall guarantee the full separation of the state from the church. Religion is a matter of individual conscience.

(g) The republic shall guarantee the equality of all citizens before the law and ban class or other privileges. The republic shall also guarantee the equality of national minorities before the law.

(h) The republic shall guarantee the right of free public trial in independent courts and before sworn witnesses.

(i) The republic shall guarantee broad local administrative autonomy. [passage omitted]

Economic

Preamble

[Passage omitted] The state is independent to the extent that the components of its economic system are independent. The wellspring of the independence process and the assurance of its success are above all an independent economy. In this regard, the ARF has based its economic proposals on gradually reforming the basic features of the present economic system in Armenia or, depending on circumstances, altering some of those features completely. In the future, the new economic system thus shaped must be replaced by another synthesizing system through which the Armenian Republic can:

1. Implement a distinct economic policy and have an autonomous economy.

[14-15 Jan p 4]

[Text]

2. Give impetus to the development of a private economy using a decentralized decision-making mechanism, as one result of that distinct policy.

3. Create an orderly financial system which can support the natural growth of the economy and which can limit inflation.

4. Formulate a farsighted plan to regulate economic growth which emphasizes the quality of growth while discouraging unruly and harmful development.

5. Establish free and direct external relations which can guide the Armenian economy into international economic currents.

6. Formulate a plan of goals leading to successive economic reforms. This plan must remain committed to the principle of a beneficial and effective progression of reform measures with an eye to continuous renewal.

7. Enhance the country's financial and administrative expertise and attain the standards of modern advanced nations in that respect.

8. Enact the laws that will define the nation's external and domestic trade, draft new laws, review the current state of labor relations, formulate a credit and tax policy, and generally evaluate other issues related to the country's economic system.

9. Establish a market system which, within the limits of legality, can play a certain role in the process of setting prices to counter the effect of market forces during this transition period, while freeing production means from state ownership and the mentality of state capitalism.

The Dashnak Party will pursue its economic policy for Armenia on the basis of priorities and determine the country's strategic needs appropriately, always remembering that the objective of the present stage is to establish a system for the transition period. The Dashnak Party believes that the following needs are of strategic importance in the next phase of Armenia's economic development:

- Transportation to the outside, which encompasses the development and modernization of land and air routes and communication means, with special emphasis on trade relations with Georgia and Iran, and having in mind the potential of the possible trade route extending from the Persian Gulf to Batumi and Eastern Europe.
- The establishment and expansion of industries which produce traditional and high-consumption products, which consume little energy and resources, which utilize local raw materials, and which are skill and knowledge-intensive. Special attention must be given to industrial branches which constitute full chains of production.
- An energy reserve system.
- Classification of arable lands.
- Creation of water reservoirs.
- Prevention of environmental pollution.
- Procurement of foreign capital.
- Establishment of external economic ties. In this regard, a bilateral plan for the development of external economic relations must be endorsed to make possible, first, direct ties between Armenia and foreign economies and, second, an intermediary role for Armenia between the present Soviet republics and the global economy. In this framework, it is essential to create special, planned conditions to enable the formation of elements of common economic interest between Armenia and the Expatria, provided that the

current petrified condition of those elements is ended. These elements of common interest must become the driving forces behind Armenia's development.

- Finally, it is a strategic goal to draft a long-term and comprehensive program to modernize Armenia's state machinery, to make it sensitive to the public's needs, and to endow it with contemporary administrative capabilities. It is also essential to take the appropriate steps to reduce gradually the size of the state machinery, replacing it with private service agencies.

In all domains of these strategic needs, the Dashnak Party will mobilize the full power of Armenian national capabilities, from Armenia to the distant corners of the Expatria. The economic policy of the ARF strives for an international economic system which will operate in the greater global market and which will gradually raise Armenia's economy to international standards.

The creation of an international economic system for Armenia presumes the active participation of forces in Armenia and the Expatria in the process of resolving Armenia's economic development problems. Here, it is essential to adopt a flexible state policy which can rely freely and extensively on exhaustive consultations with the nongovernment sector.

[16 Jan p 4]

[Excerpt] On 15 April 1990, the ARF presented to Armenia's government, on behalf of the Commission on the Economic Development of Armenia which was formed by the ARF, a draft of the Plan for the Economic Development of Armenia with the objective of making a tangible contribution to the areas enumerated above. The said document outlines the future directions of Armenia's economic development and explains the economic and political conditions that are required to bring forth the comparative advantages of Armenia's economy vis-a-vis international competition. The draft plan also notes the possibility of starting a series of enterprises around which the next phase of Armenia's economic development may take shape. [passage omitted]

[23 Jan p 4]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

National Defense

At this stage of the independence process, it is unfortunately not possible to form a national army, which all independent countries should have. That should be considered a project which can be realized over time. Even so, the ARF proposes to organize under the authority of Armenia's government:

1. Special brigades to supervise Armenia's internal security. The military and combat training of these brigades must go beyond current standards; they must be trained for multiple missions with the capability to engage in all

types of combat operations. In addition to military training, the internal security brigades must be provided with a healthy national education and infused with a sense of depoliticization that is accepted by the internal security forces of all democratic countries.

2. The nucleus of an Armenian force which will hold the vision of a solid national army and which can close its ranks at an opportune moment in the independence process to attain the status of an army that can defend Armenia's borders.

3. A system of pannungal participation in military training which can and must offer the youth of the entire Armenian nation military and army education. The youth must periodically participate in military exercises to refresh their knowledge and to learn new skills.

The army, which will have the task of defending the borders of the Fatherland, will naturally not be able to intervene in the work of ensuring the internal security of the country, except in the event of declarations of states of emergency by the government in accordance with constitutional provisions. [passage omitted]

[24 Jan p 4]

[Excerpt]

The Artsakh Problem

The Artsakh cause is a fundamental and critical issue. It is critical in the sense that historical and political circumstances have given it special significance from a standpoint of forging the prospects of restoring the national rights of the Armenian people in the future. For that reason, the task of regaining the eternal rights of the Armenian people of Artsakh and the military, political, and economic importance of Artsakh for the Armenian nation puts the Artsakh issue at the top of the ARF's list of urgent problems today, as it has been for the past 70 years.

Therefore, relying on the joint efforts of Armenians in the Fatherland and the Expatria, the ARF proposes:

1. To contribute with all available means to Artsakh's self-defense effort and the enhancement of the resistive strength of the Armenians of Artsakh.

2. To contribute with all means to the strengthening of Artsakh's economy.

3. To make every effort to enable the Armenians of Artsakh to have access to Armenian education and culture.

4. To make every effort to preserve and to expand the Armenian population of Artsakh. [passage omitted]

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Egyptian Official on Resumption of Ties With Iran

91AA0266A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
21 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Ambassador Ahmad Namiq by Suzy al-Junaydi: "Gulf Crisis Is Reason for Restoration of Arab-Iranian Relations. Exportation of Ideologies Is Demonstrated Failure and Is Over"; date and place not given]

[Text] Ambassador Ahmad Namiq, director of the Egyptian interests office in Tehran, affirmed that diplomatic steps toward full restoration of Egyptian-Iranian relations will be forthcoming, saying that the age of exporting ideologies and ideas is over and that this concept has been a demonstrated failure.

He added that the Gulf crisis and Iran's balanced stance were the main reasons for the restoration of Arab-Iranian relations, which will have a favorable impact on stability in the region.

This was stated in an interview which AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT had with the ambassador a few days before he headed for the Iranian capital, Tehran, to assume his new position as head of the Egyptian interests mission there. The following is the text of the interview:

[Al-Junaydi] Some people were amazed at the fact that Egyptian-Iranian relations have been restored at the interests office level in the two countries rather than at the embassy level. Why were relations restored at a lower diplomatic level and is this only a first step to be followed by other steps toward full restoration?

[Namiq] It is common diplomatic practice to restore relations at the interests office level after a long rupture as was the case when Egyptian-American relations were restored in the seventies. It is a natural step usually followed by other steps toward full restoration of diplomatic relations.

[Al-Junaydi] Did Cairo and Tehran have any contacts when relations were severed between the two countries?

[Namiq] As a rule, when political relations are severed, the break is not complete. Rather, some contacts are made through international bodies such as the UN, for example, or through third parties. This is what happened with Iran, especially during the negotiations Egyptian and Iranian ambassadors held in Geneva on Egyptian prisoners.

[Al-Junaydi] Why now? Was the Gulf crisis the direct reason for the restoration of Egyptian-Iranian relations?

[Namiq] The restoration of official relations between any two countries is a matter determined by situations or new developments taking place in the arena, such as the Gulf crisis, for example. By its recent stands, Iran has

demonstrated that it is backing away from passionate decisions, overreactions, and the adoption of political positions that give the bad impression of attempting to interfere in the affairs of others. By contrast, Iran's position on the Gulf crisis was a balanced one, for it adopted a sensible position when Iraqi aircraft sought refuge there, and when it took the humane stand of allowing many people working in Iraq to cross its borders. And even though Iran did not participate directly in the international coalition because of its own circumstances, it did take a sound position.

[Al-Junaydi] What about Iran's latest objection to the Damascus Declaration?

[Namiq] The whole world is now contemplating a new world order suiting the needs of the next century. Therefore, it is natural that some Arab countries should try, in the wake of the Gulf crisis in particular, to expand the area covered by security arrangements. The Damascus Declaration left the door open for other countries to join these arrangements in the future. This was a straightforward and clear declaration in that it was not directed against anyone and was based on cooperation, on respect for international legitimacy, and on the inadmissibility of land annexation and the settlement of conflicts by force. I do not think Iran is opposed to that.

[Al-Junaydi] Given the fact that the concept of exporting the Iranian revolution is still on the minds of many people, what can Iran offer to the Arab world?

[Namiq] Iran is a strong country in the area, whether we like it or not. It has strong mutual interests and ties with many Arab countries in general and the Gulf states in particular, such as marital, trade, historic, cultural, and Islamic relations. The age of exporting ideologies and ideas, be they political or dogmatic, is over and this concept has proven to be a failure. New developments in the region have given the green light for better relations between Iran and all other countries in the area and Iran because Iran represents one of the elements of balance and weight in this area. There are common economic interests; knowledge, expertise, and cooperation can be exchanged in a number of fields, especially since the next age will be an age of cooperation and not of wars.

[Al-Junaydi] The picture the mass media in Egypt and Iran drew of the two countries during the rift was not a pleasant one. Will this have any kind of impact on the restoration of relations?

[Namiq] Haphazard reactions often lead to adverse results and this is what happened after the Iranian revolution, leading to the intensification of the rift and the media campaigns for no reason at all. Ever since he assumed power, President Husni Mubarak has never met a misdeed with another misdeed, but has always risen above all misdeeds with his well-known Egyptian pride. Egypt and Iran have demonstrated a great sense of responsibility, both regionally and internationally. I will be going to Iran on 26 March, God willing, with a new

vision and a different perspective, a perspective necessitated by international and regional developments and neighborliness.

[Al-Junaydi] Will the restoration of Egyptian-Iranian relations and Saudi-Iranian relations have a great impact on stability in the region?

[Namiq] The restoration of Arab-Iranian relations in general and Egyptian and Saudi-Iranian relations in particular will have a good and favorable impact on the entire region. I spent the two most fascinating years of my career, until last year, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and I have witnessed cultural development from the first visit I made in the early sixties.

[Al-Junaydi] Has your excellency had any prior dealing with the Iranians?

[Namiq] Yes, during my assignments in Washington and Vienna and in Moscow right after the restoration of Egyptian-Soviet relations. I also served as Egypt's representative to UN agencies such as the International Atomic Energy Agency from 1976 to 1980 at a time when Iran had an ambitious and massive nuclear program. Through my contacts with them, I got the feeling that Iranians are an intelligent, cultured, and civilized people.

ALGERIA

Status of Computer Arabicization Effort Detailed

91AA0250A Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE
in French 31 Jan 91 pp 45-46

[Article by A. Tareb: "A Past, A Story"; first two paragraphs are REVOLUTION AFRICAINE introduction]

[Text] Arabicization in information science is an old story dating back more than 10 years. The important research work, needing nothing more than commercial and—why not—industrial outlets, is being conducted in ENSI (National Computer Systems Company). This should interest the High Commission for Research. Some Algerian users have been working on Arabicization in information science for a long time now, without glossing over the difficulties that did and still do arise. Big computer hardware manufacturers and service companies have also introduced Arabicization into their research, and some of them are actively collaborating with Algerian organizations.

Meanwhile, research continues. Specialists and practitioners have participated in this report by offering their opinions, defining the limits of Arabic use, and pointing out as well that Arabicization is not purely a government affair.

The law requiring the general use of Arabic, although it has not yet been passed, revives a debate that already goes back many years: that of introducing the Arabic

language into information science. Moreover, one provision of the law deals with computer equipment (hardware), and completely passes over the programming aspect (software). The provision states that computer equipment will be imported in the future only in its Arabic version. In doing so, it shows a profound lack of understanding of information science realities. We do not produce computer hardware, at least nothing that has reached the manufacturing stage, and there is bilingual, even multilingual, equipment everywhere in the world. The essential thing is to superimpose layers of software, which ultimately pushes up costs. Furthermore, our country has been involved for over 10 years in research to use the Arabic language in computers, with exclusively Algerian research teams, such as the one at the National Computer Systems Company (ENSI), or in collaboration with foreign partners. The problem therefore is not a new one. Substantial results have been achieved, even though they have generally not been industrially or commercially exploited. Many national users already have long years of practical experience in the matter. One of them is the Algiers Wilaya Data-Processing Company (EIWA), which together with ENSI is a sort of pioneer in the computer processing of Arabic. EIWA, in particular, has Arabicized and computerized a certain number of its files (gray cards, driver's licenses, elections). This was not without difficulty in some cases, such as the "elections" file, because of the spelling of names, for which the margin of errors was high. Today those problems are more or less under control, emphasizes Mr. Nouas, general director of EIWA. For his part, Mr. Chalouhi Adel, a consultant and specialist in the use of Arabic in data processing, points out that the different elements needed for a homogenous, comprehensive, and total integration of Arabic into data processing are not currently standardized. From a purely technical standpoint, there is no doubt that Arabicization would be feasible, but it must be fully coordinated with the work environment, stresses Mr. Gheri Tewfik, general director of the North African Data-Processing Company. The workplace and the computer system must go hand in hand. If the workplace is not ready for computerization, research cannot go far. It is the market that will then locate the resources to pursue research activities. Without a market, research may remain buried. We must computerize first of all, and do it in our national language: In any case, Mr. Gheri also stresses, there is currently a deficit in our country, and in both areas. The process of computerization must not be slowed by the necessity of Arabicization. This leads Mr. Nouas, general manager of EIWA, to wonder whether the [Arabic language] law does not constitute a barrier, in which case we are ignoring difficulties that are sure to crop up. If the process of computerization is slowed down, Mr. Gheri further emphasizes, the performance of the country's management may decline, especially if the working environment does not change at the same rate as political decisionmaking does. This would result in unprepared workplaces, with negative repercussions. We must take

care that development undertaken in the Arabic language and the widespread use of Arabic in data processing are not carried out at the expense of computerization itself. The opposite is also true. It is easier to move from a Latin-language computerized system to the Arabic language, than from a manual system to a computerized system using Arabic. For many data-processing service providers, it is the market that will determine what is necessary. Producing for market needs and anticipating the needs of the market may not result in immediate amortization. Producers will have to adapt their investments. For the time being, the demand for Arabicized computer products is growing, but it is nonetheless limited. Furthermore, there are a certain number of software programs that have been developed by local expertise: Reconverting them to mono-bilingual mode requires an investment that may prove burdensome for skeleton development departments, who will be forced to spread their activities out over time to maintain profitability.

As far as users are concerned, the purely computer aspect of company management systems is only one part of the question, since there is a whole work environment to be considered: printers, customer relations, and the Arabic level of the staff itself in relation to the computers.

In Algeria, the National Computer Systems Company has played an interesting role in drawing up the criteria for Arabicization; it has coordinated compliance with those criteria by computer product suppliers, and even acted somewhat as a watchdog. Its efforts have met with some success. ENSI's research director Mr. Benhadouga, who is, in a way, Algeria's "Mr. Arabicization," has headed a computer Arabicization research team for many years. The team has conducted a certain number of pilot experiments in [product] development, and has seen some of them implemented. However, for lack of adequate funding and, some say, of a favorable environment for such development, the experiments have remained limited. A bilingual terminal designed in ENSI laboratories in 1983, a few samples of which were even marketed, did not receive any manufacturing follow-up due to lack of funding. This has prompted the ENSI director to express the wish that Arabicization research be incorporated into a national research program, and that it benefit from a single source of financing substantial enough to enable it to be industrially and commercially followed up. According to Mr. Benhadouga, much expertise exists—the hard core as he calls it—and the state must help the experience accumulated since 1978 to move out of the relative obscurity in which it is mired. In the meantime, ENSI's annual research budget of 5 million Algerian dinars keeps 20 highly skilled employees, who are working almost exclusively in computer Arabicization, busy. This research is thus wholly unsubsidized, and yet the research done in the company's laboratories is of national importance. That is why the spinoffs have been few. There is no technology transfer in this area, or when there is, it is from south to north, because some international computer firms are

soliciting ENSI's help in Arabicization. Two agreements were concluded and successfully completed with two big firms: one for a bilingual word processor with Matra Datapoint, and another for the Arabicization of a laser printer with Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC). The ENSI research team has just completed the design of a product financed exclusively by the company. The product, dubbed AFAK, is a procedure for Arabicizing the MS-DOS operating system on an IBM microcomputer or IBM compatible, with a certain number of technical features. It is equipped with VGA or EGA video boards.

The tested product is ready to be marketed, a move that is scheduled for this year. Starting in 1992, it will be possible to market other products, such a spellchecker for Arabic word processing. This software program includes an Arabic-language spelling module: According to its writers, it required a language study during the design stage. A bilingual spreadsheet will also be marketed. An average of two years of research are required per project, and the team assures us that it can also handle specific requests, particularly in the area of training. In the opinion of Mr. Constantin Salame of the Hewlett-Packard company, accessing data-processing techniques with the Arabic script raised many problems, given the different features of the Arabic language. The 28 basic Arabic characters break down into many strokes, and the use of vowels and orthographic signs continues to pose problems because they are written above and below the letters. The majority of display and printing terminals do not allow two or more characters to be superimposed. Moreover, Arabic writing requires more graphic space to get good definition on computer printing or display terminals. As it happens, most of these devices have been "tailored" to Latin characters. Several meetings over the last decade have contributed to progress in the use of Arabic in computer science, and dealt in particular with the question of standardization. The Bizerte [meeting] in 1978 resulted in the creation of the Committee for the Arabicization of Data Processing (COARIN). The latter's goal is to seek a comprehensive solution to the problems of using the Arabic language in data processing. The meeting held in Egypt in 1977 defined an Arabic code used in data processing, as well as a set of basic characters needed to compose texts in Arabic. In a meeting organized in Rome, COARIN came up with a proposal for a unified Arabic code (CODAR-U). Finally, after successful experiments in linguistic processing and administrative applications conducted in Tunisia and Morocco, a new, definitive Unified Arabic Code was adopted in Rabat in 1987 by ASMO (Arabic Standardization Organization).

Although no comprehensive solution for Arabicized information processing is in sight, Messrs. Rafik Belhadj Kacem and Walid Sayad of the Bull firm's Arabization unit say that once the hurdle of the necessary phonetic adaptation is cleared, the Arabic language presents no particular problem. They also assert that the Arabic language lends itself perfectly well to computer processing—more easily even than certain Latin languages. The

solution offered by the Bull company is a comprehensive one, covering both hardware and software. The Hewlett-Packard company's strategy also consists of offering a complete line of Arabicized computer products (mini-computers, personal computers, printers, application programs, and development tools). Hewlett Packard is participating, among other things, in defining computer Arabicization standards both in the Arab world, in ASMO, and internationally (ECMA). It is marketing a certain number of its products, Arabicized and bilingual hardware and software, in Algeria. In the view of Mr. Othmani of Microsoft Company, the problem of software development in Algeria suffers from the absence of a law protecting designers from pirates.

As a result, people are afraid to develop programs. The use of an unofficial exchange system is also a handicap. We must understand, says Mr. Othmani, that a software program costing US\$100 in the United States of America sells for DA[dinars]10,000 in Algiers. Moreover, customs duties are prohibitive. Microsoft markets a certain number of Arabicized data-processing products (spreadsheet, word processor) in Algeria.

In conclusion, we can infer that everyone today agrees on the importance of Arabicization in information science—industrially and commercially, but also linguistically and culturally. The goal is to finally make the Arabic language an instrument of knowledge.

Boxed Material

Mr. Nouas, general director of the Algiers Wilaya Data-Processing Company (EIWA):

The introduction of Arabic into information processing costs money. We must remember that when one makes political decisions, one must have the wherewithal to implement them. We have bought hardware that is not Arabicized, what are we going to do? The political decision must not be an ultimatum, so that we can also, if necessary, evaluate the ins and outs of a shift to Arabicization in data processing with a foreign partner. If we want to design in Arabic using our own resources, we must design our own equipment.

Mr. Ghersi Tewfik, general director of the North African Data Processing Company (CMI):

From a purely technical standpoint, there is no doubt that the Arabicization of information processing is feasible. But it has to be totally coordinated with the work environment, which must go hand in hand with the computer equipment. If the workplace is not ready for computerization, research cannot go far. It is the market that will then locate resources for research. Without a market, research may remain buried.

Arabicization achievements of ENSI's RD in 88-89:

- 1988: An Arabicized pin printer board: 4,000 characters a second. Software programs for Arabicizing the

Datapoint Company's Star VI data-acquisition system.

- 1989: A software program for Arabicizing the PC and PC-compatible operating system. A software program for PC terminal emulation. A PC-compatible board for printer Arabicization. A bilingual terminal (hardware and software) usable on micro-multi-stations.
- 1990: AFAK, a product for Arabicizing the MS-DOS operating system.

Mr. Benhadouga Abdelali, ENSI research director:

For the experiments in computer Arabicization undertaken at ENSI over the last few years to produce conclusive results, we need state aid. Being forced to import bilingualism from abroad is bad in itself. We must adapt bilingualism in our own country. The use of Arabic in information processing does not raise any major problems: We just have to know that a hard core of researchers exists in our country, and asks only to be assisted.

Rehabilitation of Education System Advocated

Quality Declining

91AA0248A Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*
in French 6 Feb 91 pp 48-49

[Article by Ahmed Tessa: "The Ideological Drift of the Algerian School System"]

[Text] It is difficult to appreciate the basic foundations and outcome of the present mess in which the Algerian school system finds itself without touching on the history of its evolution through the process of national development. Immediately following independence and faced with many problems the country, in a spirit of revolutionary zeal, adopted a methodological approach based on the principle: "For an exceptional problem, an exceptional solution." As a result, like all other sectors of the economy, the school system went through an unprecedented upheaval, both in terms of its capacity for accommodating students (it was necessary to construct the maximum number of classrooms and teach the children in shifts) and in terms of school management. Teaching staff, the keystone of the school structure, included all applicants who had the strict minimum of qualifications required by the profession. Men and women from different social and professional backgrounds and having "qualifications," which did not always meet established standards, flocked into all levels of the educational system. Former shepherds, practitioners of traditional medicine in the marketplaces, and neighborhood street sweepers recalled having taken courses in elementary school, which had made it possible for them to master the alphabet in Arabic. At the time, this criterion was enough for them to be assigned as elementary school teachers. They joined the young religious teachers who had been sent by the FLN [National Liberation Front] during the liberation war to schools of theology (and not to scientific universities) in the Middle East and who

returned to the country after independence to meet the legitimate claim of Arabization. Technical cooperation counted for a great deal and quality was not always considered.

Through continuing training this heterogeneous group of teachers was supposed to improve its technical background. However, for a considerable number of them, those who did not attend elementary school before their departure for fraternal countries, the absence of a minimum amount of familiarity with schools was a considerable handicap which hampered their mastery of public instruction, this difficult and demanding art. For other teachers, including those who had formerly attended normal schools and Medersas [Muslim secondary schools], the magical, siren songs of the economic sector, which paid better than the school system, were consequently more persuasive than the abstract love for the teaching profession. This brain drain, aggravated by cooperation that did not always work and a "pressure-cooker" type of training that was preferred over that of the normal schools, left the door open for incompetents of all kinds. And who cared about the damage! The intellectual stamp of this category of teachers and administrators left its mark on the contents of school books, in the poorly adapted importation of teaching methods, in the preparation of educational programs, and in the varied forms of management of the educational system. This is the human capital that will be charged with handling the initiation and follow-up of this operation, so vital for the future of the country: the basic school.

The Basic School

In theory this new type of school reflects in the most appropriate way the basic principles of overall education, as understood in all of its dimensions. This includes the conceptual aspect, through academic instruction, and the perceptual and esthetic aspects, through sports and artistic instruction. As a result all aptitudes, capabilities, and predispositions of the child are handled by means of formative actions, scientifically prepared and planned, finally leading, at the end of the educational process, to obtaining a viable and rewarding product for society. That is, a fully developed adult capable of standing on his own. However, any assurance of success for this educational strategy necessarily involves the adoption of an error-free, tactical structure whose elements intimately overlap each other, with the result that the failure of one element brings down the whole structure by weakening it. Although the following are far from being exhaustive, the criteria for the viability of the basic school are as follows:

(1) The selection of competent teachers and administrators who are sensitive to the spirit and letter of this new concept in education. Provided with the technical background required in the areas of psychology and pedagogy, they should be supported by classroom materials steadily kept up to date in order to avoid the dangers of

routine and of a hardening of the intellectual arteries. These people will be motivated by a just and proper promotion policy.

(2) A new type of educational organization in the schools, bringing together on an equal basis the different kinds of instruction provided, thus offering a student an agreeable framework for life, encouraging the acquisition of knowledge, and favoring the development of natural gifts and creative energy.

(3) Teaching programs aimed at the essentials, in contact with the outside world and developed by teams from several disciplines (for example, teachers, sociologists, and psychologists). In this way the programs will adhere as closely as possible to the standards required for the subject matter, including a psychic and intellectual level of maturity for the age group in question; an open attitude toward the universality of things, on the basis of definite roots in civilization; and coordination between the various disciplines and study cycles.

(4) Methodological approaches focussed on the active participation of the student and stimulated by a reassuring and motivating system of evaluation. This is because such a system will generate specific forms of support activity and appropriate school orientation, in the light of continuous psychological and pedagogical observation throughout the school career of the student.

(5) Joint management of the schools, associating in a judicious and permanent way the teachers and even the parents of the students, through the establishment of flexible structures for cooperation and coordination free of bureaucratic taint, all aimed at improving the school experience of the young and adolescent child.

(6) A system of technical and pedagogical support in the form of equipment and teaching aids useful in the daily conduct of classes. These include the textbooks for students, notebooks for correspondence between school and family, notebooks containing the students' marks, and files with psychological and pedagogical comments.

In the light of these basic, theoretical conditions, to which should be added adequate buildings, a reasonable number of students in the classes, and teaching aids we can easily evaluate the actual performance of our educational system. Not only are these basic criteria far from being met, but also even worse, they have been emptied of any meaning by an unrestrained kind of demagoguery dressed up in the very frequently misleading slogan of the democratization of education.

Last Minute 'Linguistic' Converts

To the obstacles and misfortunes caused by the untimely application of the basic school concept should be added almost insoluble problems over the short and middle term resulting from the total conversion of scientific subjects to Arabic. These subjects previously had been taught in French. The high-speed train of Arabization will claim its victims, not only among the students but

also in the first place among the teachers. Between one day and the next they were given the order to change their working language, as if the latter were only an ordinary tool, subject to arbitrary change. Contrary to their elders, who had not had the chance to learn Arabic, the young teachers had less difficulty in adapting themselves to the new situation. However, all of them, without exception, saw their professional skills decline sharply in quality, not only because they had not fully mastered Arabic but also and especially because of a lack of published material in Arabic. Moreover, this shortage of books and other documentation in Arabic is still the nightmare of science teachers at all levels.

And people have expressed astonishment at the "bastardization" of the effort to promote the use of Arabic, starting with education in general. At this blessed time for settling accounts, it is not the supporters of "French instruction" who should be blamed for this failure but rather the super nationalists who conceived, directed, and applied this policy, beginning in 1978 and continuing to the present. To strengthen the whole structure and set it firmly in place, they established a system of internal promotion, which would bring out of the mass of mediocre teachers the most mediocre among them. Opportunism flourished like weeds in untended land. There was a race among teachers to obtain membership cards in the single political party. The party decreed that the provisions of Articles 120 and 121 would be considered in the case of every promotion within the educational system. To paraphrase a politician, "From now on promotions will be given to those men and women who speak the language (jargon) instead of those who know how to reflect and think." The latter were cast aside as guilty of "linguistic crime." Some of them were willing to serve as an intellectual warning.

To save face, the zealots who conceived this program began to hold, with great media coverage, the well-known "summer workshops," which were given the objective of radically transforming both the level of general culture and the professional abilities of our teachers. This was a prestige operation that would swallow considerable amounts of money. In addition to these summer workshops, seminars, and teachers' study days and half days cut up the school year, which was already badly affected by the large number of holidays. The immediate effect has been to disturb the proper functioning of classes without, for that matter, improving the quality of teaching to any extent. The concrete evidence is there. There is no need for statistical studies. The figures speak for themselves. Only 2 percent of those taking the 1990 baccalaureate examination succeeded in passing it. That is, 98 percent of the students had marks of less than 10 on 20 [the passing grade]. It is the Algerian university structure that will inherit these rejects!

It seems that the virus of mediocrity has invaded the universities. We must expect, in the kingdom of thoughtlessness and lies, the fact that the rapid promotion of mediocrity will have no limits. Mediocrity has even

affected membership in the cabinet. What should we say about being enrolled in a university!

Conclusion

Some people claim that the resounding failure of the Algerian school system lies in the choice of this imported idea of a basic school. However, it is not the choice of system which is in question but its timeliness. In fact, such an educational strategy can only be implemented in a culturally backward and economically underdeveloped country like Algeria.

As a strategy resulting from a scientific view of the educational program and through the strictness of its organization and planning, the basic school has revealed the contradictions that have undermined the Algerian school system since independence in 1962.

Other people, with the worst of intentions, blame the Arabic language. Now, it has been demonstrated that in the countries where Arabic is used by competent people, it is a suitable vehicle for all instruction. In this case, we should avoid throwing the baby out with the bath water. It is the educational charlatans, charged with administering the schools, who are responsible for this program of Arabization on the cheap.

This does not displease uneducated people anxious for revenge. They say that "the cart has been placed before the horse." And the beginning of these unsuccessful efforts has coincided with the crusade against Mostefa Lacheraf, who had the courage to examine the realities facing the country and to present ideas marked with the seal of science and objectivity. Not wishing to do anything else, his (victorious) detractors dug the grave of the Algerian school system. The end of the 1970's was the end of hope.

'Medieval' Approach Criticized

91AA0248B Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*
in French 6 Feb 91 p 43

[Article by Ahmed Tessa: "The Spirit World in the Schools"]

[Text] A secondary school teacher declared war against "demons," using the language of a charlatan that only "those who live in the shadows" understand. We thought that this kind of thing had disappeared with the advent of compulsory education and the entry of the country into an era of progress and liberty after 132 years of backwardness and obscurantism.

A cruel fate affects contemporary Algerian society. Through the window of religious fundamentalism it introduced the virus of charlatanism that it had driven out through the broad door of independence.

The anniversary of 1 November is a date symbolizing a break with the old order of colonialism and religious fanaticism. It is unfortunate that now, at the beginning of the 21st century, a spirit of backwardness is raging,

clinging to the facade of the school system. This spirit is fully comparable to that of the sorcerers of the middle ages. What follows is not a work of fiction but a drama experienced during a day no different from other days.

Mohamed is in his last year of secondary school. He is subject to frequent epileptic seizures. On the day in question he had a serious seizure while in class.

The philosophy teacher, a bearded fundamentalist of the first order, found nothing better to do than to devote himself to a session of exorcism before his petrified students. He ordered the students to open the windows to facilitate the escape of the "evil spirit" who lived in the body and mind of their classmate.

Turning the twitching form of the unfortunate student in several directions and violently striking the joints of his body, the charlatan teacher continued, throughout the process, to recite sacred verses of the Koran and to carry on a distant dialogue with the evil spirit.

With the features of his face distorted and his large eyes open, he stared hypnotically and began the ritual. He said: "Who are you? What sex are you?" There was no answer other than the sound of the student's body hitting the cold floor of the classroom. Faced with this terrible scene, each student reacted, depending on how sensitive he or she was. Some of the girls fainted, while others began to shriek with fear. The boys looked on powerlessly. Some of them even broke out laughing at the ridiculous behavior of their teacher.

This incident, which occurred in a place supposed to dispense scientific knowledge, shows us in a frightful way the depth of the abyss in which the Algerian school system has lost itself. An educational policy that mass-produces obscurantist teachers who go on to control schools spread throughout the country. Students nourished on fascism, organized in the ranks of Dame Intolerance, after a full-scale brainwashing.

There are millions of examples: an elementary school teacher, ugly as sin and with a bushy beard, who describes to his frightened students the details of the story of Idab El Kobr (the torments of the tomb).

There was a nun from the order of White Sisters who had left the convent and who prohibited the use of perfume or engaging in sports. Only for the young girls, of course.

Or there was the case of an overzealous teacher with a hangdog look who announced that sketching and music were prohibited.

The list is too long. By remaining silent the supervisory authorities are their accomplices. Some school principals support this new type of education, made in Algeria, with faith and enthusiasm. The mass media are indifferent (TV in particular). The incredible inattention of the parents ensures that ideas from the middle ages spread so quickly that the academic and scholarly message is silenced. The proof is in the results in the schools.

And people are surprised at the spread of acts of intolerance.

As if waiting for a monstrous display of fireworks, the school system is participating in its preparation—and how: by making bombs ready to explode.

EGYPT

Writer Urges Facing Reality After War

91AA0265A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 13 Mar 91 p 7

[Article by Salah-al-Din Hafiz: "Frank Discussion After War"]

[Text] We have said and we continue to say that the Gulf war has ended militarily but that its political, economic, and psychological ramifications have not yet begun to put strong and severe pressure on the sensitive nerve in this sensitive part of the world which abounds with problems and crises.

The war has ended and we have to move past its tragedies and bitterness to aspire to a better future. We must do what is necessary so that the Gulf war will not become a carbon copy of what seems to recur every decade and so that a new dictator will not arise every generation to lead us into dangerous situations. We must hold a frank discussion now that we have fought, and we must cooperate after having antagonized each other. It is within the context of frank discussion that we should say that what existed in all our countries prior to Iraq's invasion and what ended with Kuwait's liberation and Iraq's destruction should not continue.

The terrible earthquake has occurred. It is characteristic of earthquakes that they spread their tremors in an orderly and successive geometrical pattern from the epicenter to the peripheries. If Kuwait and Iraq, the two main victims of the tragedy, are the epicenter, then the tremors have extended to affect not just the Gulf and Arab Peninsula region, which is close to the epicenter, but all parts of the Arab homeland from its easternmost to its westernmost parts.

If the earthquake's negative consequences in terms of devastation and victims, not to mention humiliation and abasement, are so many that they cannot be measured or counted, then perhaps the single positive result which this earthquake has produced is that it has made us realize that our condition prior to the crisis and the war was not a sound condition. Therefore, let bygones be bygones. We have to change what is within us because "verily, never will God change the condition of people until they change it themselves" [Koran, 13:11].

Last week, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was asked about the possibilities of changing government policies and applying democracy in Kuwait and in the other Arab countries in wake of the results produced by the Gulf war at all levels. He answered: We realize that democracy is the inlet and is the ideal and best system.

But we cannot require them to change the systems of government or dictate our ideas to them for fear that they would imagine that one of Saddam's demands for toppling the ruling regimes has been accomplished! Well....

Considering that we have enlisted the allies' political and military assistance in the Gulf war, why should we not enlist their advice in arranging our internal conditions now that the Gulf war has ended? Why do we not examine Baker's words and understand their true meaning. These words implicitly mean that they, the Americans, will not impose an immediate and compulsory change on the systems of government in the region for fear of suspicion. But the idea of change is implicitly and certainly in their plans. They want the change, even though they will not declare it openly now. They may declare it openly and may dictate it in the future, not out of compassion for our condition but in defense of their interests, especially what they call the stability of the friendly regimes!

Instead of having the Americans or others force us to change in form and content, it behooves us to take matters into our own hands and introduce the change with our own hands and according to our ideas and our fundamental needs and demands. If the Americans are ordinarily fond of the idea of "modernizing the ruling regimes"—an idea which they have applied in more than one part of Africa, Asia, and Latin America—then this idea has actually produced no more than deformed systems, false democracies, subservient rulers, and Americanized policies.

So what do we want?

Now that the crisis has gripped us and the war has awakened us, we fully recall the democratic revolution which stemmed from ordinary citizens and which has toppled, throughout the past two years, extremely powerful and dominant totalitarian and communist regimes in East Europe. We subsequently realize that our political, social, and economic conditions are not the same as theirs. But on the other hand, we stress that our aspiring to democracy is not lesser than theirs and that our objective is not farther than theirs.

If our governments, exploiting the war climate and outcome, are now vying with each other for agreement on security and military arrangements—and such arrangements are actually important—then they have ignored the fact that any arrangements some day may stand in the face of an external danger but will most likely fail in the face of internal danger. The internal danger we are talking about means disorganized movement and an eruption by ordinary citizens seeking to introduce democratic change and development and to impose it by force in the hope that this action will rescue them from the hardship forcefully imposed on them!

Perhaps what is happening in a defeated Iraq and in a liberated Kuwait under the umbrella of the ramifications of the Gulf war offers the best proof of what we are

saying. The call for true democracy, modernization, and development is the fundamental slogan raised by both ordinary Iraqis and Kuwaitis. Through revolt, these Iraqis are trying to exploit this historic opportunity to rebel against an one-man dictatorship that has proven its failure in successive political and military adventures, thus afflicting the country and the people with unprecedented catastrophes and unforgettable humiliation. The Kuwaitis are rejoicing in their liberation and repatriation after displacement and devastation. But the joy of regaining country, wealth, and home has not prevented Kuwait's "democratic" citizens from realizing that what was fit and acceptable prior to the invasion is no longer fit or acceptable in wake of the war. Therefore, the modernists and the democrats—whether part of those who were outside the country during the crisis, such as the Constitutional National Front, or part of those who remained in the country and formed the nucleus of resistance as they have formed the "democratic platform"—are now demanding the restoration of a sound democracy based on the 1962 constitution and compatible with the recommendations of the Kuwaiti national conference which convened in Jeddah last October. The recommendations of this conference have been considered a "new political covenant" between the ruling authority and the various forces of the Kuwaiti people. This covenant's objective is to introduce constitutional political, social, and economic reforms that guarantee expanded participation and political and social plurality, that safeguard public liberties and basic human rights, and that restore the democratic life that was suspended in 1986.

If Kuwait and Iraq are the two candidates most likely to begin democratic development and a sociopolitical modernization process by virtue of the fact that they have been burnt by the fire of the crisis, the war, the destruction, and the turmoil, then it is futile to say that the other Arab countries are removed from this inevitable and urgent process. The crisis has happened; the war has occurred; and both have ended in seven months. But the major crisis and the greater war, which will stay with us and with which we will live for a long time, are the crisis of modernization and the war of democratic development versus the forces seeking to maintain the prevailing conditions, individual rule, and the monopolization of both wealth and power.

The political and economic effects of this devastating war may not be so obvious in these early moments. They will remain latent, will interact, and will grow until they ripen—crises and wars bring maturity to peoples, as the saying goes—and then the frivolous and the heedless will realize that the crisis has not been a summer's cloud and that the war has not been just a game.

It is either the path of safety or the path of regret.

We have to choose before they usurp even our right to choose.

Domestic Production of Light Airplanes Reported

91AA0263A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 5 Mar 91 p 3

[Article by Ilfat Ibrahim: "Airplane for Price of Car; Hulwan-1, First Egyptian Airplane Production"]

[Text] The Arab Organization for Industrialization has successfully designed and produced a 100-percent-Egyptian-made light plane which can carry out border guard duty, assist police agencies, and spray crops. Experts say that this airplane is a calculated leap with no risks involved and a real dash toward the full production of varied aircraft. It is a serious step toward the intellectual liberation of the engineers of the developing countries so that these engineers can prove that it is not true that the European countries serve as the brains for developing countries.

Thus, the true objective behind the production of these airplanes is to create a designing team that would become the nucleus of large groups specialized in fully designing and producing aircraft. Within the next few months, a variety of sophisticated aircraft will come into existence. These aircraft will suit our domestic transportation needs, training, and other objectives which will not be declared at present.

But why has the Arab Organization for Industrialization entered the field of civilian production?

To begin with, Engineer Ahmad al-Sayyid, chairman of the Arab Organization for Industrialization's operations and marketing sector, has explained the reasons, saying:

As a military organization, we have entered the field of civilian production for several reasons, including the fact that we, as a military organization, have surplus capacities because the demand for military production is unstable by virtue of the changing conditions the region is undergoing. Moreover, the military industries have material and human capabilities that are more advanced than those available in the ordinary civilian field, considering that sophisticated technology and highly capable experts are involved in this industry.

The other reason is that we have set our eyes on the national objective of narrowing the gap between imports, which have amounted to \$22 billion, and exports, which do not exceed \$5.7 billion, and of curtailing the hard-currency drain, in addition to improving the economics of the organization's plants and companies by exploiting surplus capacities.

Engineer Ahmad al-Sayyid added: The organization has achieved a large degree of success during the short period in which it has been engaged in activity in this field despite the difficulties it has encountered in establishing cooperation with the various state sectors. The volume of contracts it concluded in fiscal year 1989-90 for civilian production exceeded 80 million pounds and involved numerous state sectors.

Regarding the available quality level, Engineer al-Sayyid said: We achieve the required standards at the highest level. We are accredited by the French, U.S., and Canadian governments for [the production of] aircraft and missiles.

Engineer al-Sayyid further added: When we begin the production of a certain commodity, we keep two elements in mind. First, we make sure that the commodity is within the bounds of our current capabilities, specializations, and expertise. Then, we make sure it is needed by the market so that we can market it. This is what gave rise to the idea of a 100-percent-Egyptian-designed-and-produced light airplane.

Al-Sayyid also said: There is no doubt that our forces in Hafr al-Batin relied to a large degree on locally produced weapons. We have numerous examples and models that show how far we have advanced in this area. For example, we have a gap-opening and minesweeping system to which only the United States and Britain have something similar. The Saudis requested all available systems. We also have the Saqr-36 missile which has a range of 36 km and has a warhead carrying small antipersonnel and antiarmor bombs. This missile is distinguished by its long range. It is suitable for hot climates and sandy terrain; it can be readied quickly; and its targeting is accurate.

The new light airplane is called Hulwan-1. It is considered a civilian product, and it can be used for numerous purposes including police patrols, border guards, crop spraying, and seizure of drug traffickers. Efforts have been made to ensure that its price does not exceed the price of a pickup truck.

Production Heroes

In an interview with the design engineers, Engineer 'Abd-al-Sattar al-Dib, director of the light airplane project, said: The plant does not put its emphasis so much on light airplanes as on working on all kinds of aircraft needed by Egypt and the Arab countries. Thus, this airplane is the first in a series of planes on which work is currently in progress. Work is in progress currently on four types of more sophisticated aircraft. We have the Hulwan-2, Hulwan-3, and Hulwan-4 airplanes. Each is more sophisticated than its predecessor. There is a complete team that is expanding its work in the area of aircraft production so that we can market in other countries at low prices. The civil aviation authorities have been working with us from the beginning so that the various stages of the airplane would be acceptable. We also adhere to international standards.

Regarding production, Engineer al-Dib said: The production lines are ready, and so is the necessary working team. We are still in the phase of consultation with the authorities and ministries and with other Arab countries, such as Libya and Saudi Arabia. Production will begin as soon as contracts are concluded.

Engineer Bashir Tantawi, the general director of light airplane production, has said: A big and urgent need for this kind of airplane has surfaced in recent years by virtue of the ease with which these planes can be used and maintained and because they do not require experienced and qualified pilots to fly them. Moreover, they are suitable for border guard and control, drug control, monitoring oil pipelines, and regulating and directing traffic jams. The plane can carry one person and nearly 250 kg, has a range of 650 km, and can fly at a speed of 120 km. Maintenance and spare parts are available. What is more important is that this airplane gives us the opportunity to proceed to design and produce more complex and more sophisticated aircraft in the future.

Tantawi added: The main objective behind the production of this airplane is to embark on designing activities that are almost prohibited to us in the developing countries. This airplane has given us the opportunity to form a complete team to come up with the designs needed for production. This team started with four individuals and has now grown to include 12 design engineers.

Engineer Ahmad Abu-Zayd, the official in charge of aerodynamic computations, has talked about the quality of the training received by the team members, saying: Most of those who work on the airplane have received training courses in advanced countries. Moreover, our professors prepared for a major industrial upsurge through the production of missiles and aircraft in the 1960's. This is in addition to ceaseless training courses in Britain and France and to our acquiring high degrees of proficiency in aircraft design. We have a contract with the United States to produce parts for the F-16 aircraft. But we only implement foreign designs in this case and we cannot add to, develop, or alter any part of the design. Therefore, the importance of this light aircraft lies in the creation of a designing team to be the nucleus for designing and producing large aircraft.

ISRAEL

Professors Discuss Absorption of Soviet Jews

91AE0293E Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 8 Feb 91 pp 1, 5

[Article by Sever Plutzqer]

[Text] On pages 2-3 of the Weekend Financial Supplement, a unique document is published as an exclusive, "A Proposal for an Economic Plan for the Israeli Economy for 1991 Through 1995," which was written by four well-known economics professors from Tel Aviv University and Hebrew University. The document was already in the files of Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i when he went yesterday to meet with the secretary general of the Histadrut [trade federation] and the president of the industrialists. The four professors are Hayim Ben-Shahar, Elhanan Halpman (the winner of the Israel Prize for social sciences this year), Tzvi Zussman, and

Asaf Razin. They began to form this joint project in September 1990, immediately after the Israeli Government unanimously approved the finance minister's plan for "The Growth of the Economy and the Absorption of Immigration."

Prof. Asaf Razin states: We all thought that the government's plan does not contend appropriately with the huge problems facing Israel. It is a collection of rosy quotes and damaging policy measures. We felt a need to do something else. Prof. Hayim Ben-Shahar adds: When we read the details of the report and saw what was to be implemented, we were seized by deep fear. I and my colleagues thought that this was not just a matter of some mistake in the current management of the economy, but of fear of losing a one-time historical opportunity provided to the state of Israel by the mass immigration from the Soviet Union. The plan is an unprecedented national failure. This fear drove us to deviate from our academic custom and current pursuits to sit together to prepare an alternative. "In our opinion," Prof. Halpman writes, "the government's immigration absorption program fails to measure up to the weight of the task and cannot achieve the goal."

The four intended to finish collecting data and running models on the computer by the end of last November and publish a detailed manifesto on 15 January 1991 for submission to our economic statesmen. However, on 15 January, the war broke out, and life suddenly changed. Economic activity descended into a sealed room. From windows covered with masking tape, questions regarding the absorption of immigration, growth, and investments seemed like a distant reality. For their part, the four professors returned to their computer monitors and text processors, and they updated their forecasts and recommendations.

Nonetheless, is the timing of the publication today still too early? No, responds Prof. Ben-Shahar. We are convinced that the application of a correct economic policy for the absorption of immigration cannot wait until the war in the Gulf is over. The immigrants will not wait. The economy will not wait. Prof. Asaf Razin states: Even though citizens now view the war as a major event that dwarfs everything else, we economists think that the crisis in the Gulf is a passing, even marginal, phenomenon in comparison to the million immigrants that Israel must absorb. The mass immigration is a major challenge with which the economy must contend immediately.

Really, immediately, despite the scuds.

The answer to this need is the "professors' document," whose main pivot is an economic scenario that describes the lines of economic development that are desirable for Israel for the period 1991-1994, on the assumption that about a million immigrants will arrive in Israel during that period. The scenario is optimistic: The immigrants obtain fair housing and suitable employment. The Israeli economy grows rapidly, domestic savings grows, and the required investments are implemented on time and have

suitable financing in Israel and abroad. Cooperation between employers, workers, and the government (yes, a package deal) ensures suitable profitability for production and export activities.

In order to actualize the scenario, the state of Israel will have to invest about \$17.5 billion in housing and another \$46.5 billion in the creation of jobs and infrastructure. A total investment of \$64 billion is needed. The foreign debt will increase from \$16.5 billion to \$36.5 billion, and the total state debt, domestic and foreign, will reach \$86 billion by the end of 1994. Another astounding detail: The annual average deficit in the state budget will be 11 billion shekels.

These are the main points of the economic policy recommended by the four professors' manifesto:

- A real devaluation of the shekel at an annual rate of 3 percent. The professors reject the existing exchange rate policy, which refrains from a real devaluation. A devaluation, in their opinion, will send the right signals to investors and entrepreneurs and will stimulate exports.
- An immediate package deal between employers, the government, and the Histadrut. Such a deal will permit a real devaluation, make the labor market flexible, and will reduce labor costs for employers.
- The Histadrut must agree to a situation in which wages will be damaged in branches and professions in which there is a surplus of workers, while wages in other branches will improve.
- An increase of the value-added tax to 20 percent and even higher, and refrainment from raising income tax or other direct taxes. In Western European countries, Prof. Razin states, a value-added tax of 22 percent is customary. This is an efficient tax that encourages savings.
- A reduction of taxes on profits and the provision of incentives and tax exemptions to private savings. The current policy regarding these matters, the professors stress, is contrary to what is desired.
- A budget that is binding for four years will be submitted for the Knesset's approval, and there will be no deficit in it by 1995. The economic trend will be toward more investments in the infrastructure, greater real expenditures for immigration absorption, and, on the other hand, deep cuts in social payments and defense.
- A cut in defense. Now? The professors' response: The war in the Gulf supports our recommendation. First, Prof. Razin states, the military aid that we have received and will receive permits a reduction of the load of defense on the economy. Second, the results of the allies' offensive against Iraq greatly reduce the overall risk that is predicted for Israel. Third, we must become integrated in the new political order that will be established in the Middle East.

- Massive privatization, i.e., the sale of governmental companies to the public, which must be based primarily on attracting investors from abroad, the idea being to sell much quickly in exchange for foreign currency.

The finance minister and his director general have already received the professors' document and the recommendations contained in it. The prime minister will also find them of interest. What will happen if the recommendations are accepted by the finance minister and the government? Will the days of the messiah come immediately? Slowly, slowly warns Prof. Asaf Razin. Our document is neither a miracle cure, nor a secret button that you push to obtain immediate deluxe absorption and deluxe growth. These are only the conditions needed for success, not success itself.

This is the desired course. However, the professors warn, if the government sits with its arms folded, or even worse, attempts to implement the current plan, a dangerous deviation from the desired course will develop. In such a case, economic bottlenecks, which in any case threaten implementation, are liable to cause stagnation and failure. Masses of immigrants will remain without housing and employment. A "deep economic and social crisis" will develop warns Prof. Ben-Shahar. As Prof. Halpman states in the professors' document: "If the necessary economic policy is not pursued, there is an especially real danger of deep unemployment, which will drag the state into a social and economic crisis."

Project To Assist Female Immigrants Launched

91AE0281A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17 Feb 91
p 2B

[Article by Heftziba Lipshitz]

[Text] Last Tuesday, at 1300, the telephone rang in the house of Emora Hadas-Yitzhaq, a resident of Qedumim. "On the line was my sister. She wished to congratulate me. When I asked why, there was silence. She then responded: Mother and Father are arriving today from Ethiopia. I was stunned. I had not seen them since I fled from Ethiopia seven years ago, and I had already lost hope. I broke out crying. When I recovered, I called the airport. However, they refused to tell me the plane's arrival time. It was classified. At 2000, there was an air raid warning. When the warning was lifted for the center of the country, I was in a bus going to Beersheva. My parents had arrived in Beersheva, and we traveled there to meet them. I will never forget that night and the meeting with them."

Above the five trailer units in Qedumim is a large sign on which it is written "Havurat Na'ava" [Society for Habitation]. Thirty girls between 20 and 22 live in the trailers. Seven years ago, they emigrated from Ethiopia without parents and relatives. When they arrived in Israel, they were put into boarding schools run by Youth Immigration. When they finished their studies, there was simply nothing to be done with them. Tzviqa Silonim, the director of the Eretz Yisra'el School in Qedumim,

responded to the appeal of the national educational supervisor of Youth Immigration and absorbed the graduates.

"If I had not absorbed them, states Silonim, they would have become welfare cases. In addition to language difficulties and the great cultural gap, they had no family structure or support. The goal was to give them a warm home and a profession, cultivate them from a personal, social standpoint, and prepare them for life."

The Havurat Na'ava project is a unique, innovative model for the absorption of immigrants. The advanced, professional training that it provides in three areas—infant care, diamond polishing, and electronics—entitles those who complete the training to a professional certificate issued by the Labor Ministry. When the girls finish their studies, the school introduces them into the labor market and chaperons them for two additional years.

Last Sunday, the girls returned to school. After a two-week break, they shared their experiences of life in the shadow of missiles. Desert Storm 1991 takes them seven years back to no less of a desert storm—to troubled nights in which they made their way at great risk from Addis Ababa to Sudan. At the time, they were only 15 and determined to emigrate to the land of Israel.

Here, in Israel, it is still a war as far as they are concerned, albeit of a different type. They speak of the pains of absorption, the difficulties of adapting, and the differences in mentality and customs between themselves and girls of their age. The school eases their adaptation and helps pave the way for them to live in Israeli society. "In the boarding school, we received everything on a silver platter. Here, we are taught how to contend with life." Rahel, the housemother, states: "The training focuses on household management and budgeting. Here, they must take responsibility. They have rights, but also obligations. They have to support themselves, share the burdens of the household, and pay taxes like any citizen in Qedumim. We had to teach them to recognize nutritious food, prepare a menu, and make purchases in the grocery store. They encountered difficulties regarding simple, everyday skills that any young person acquires spontaneously from his or her parents, such as opening a bank account, recording checks, and even how to save money.

The school also provides assistance in private matters: Eylana, one of the students, is being wooed by not a few native-born Israelis and immigrants from Russia. Eylana prefers to marry a member of her community. "Because we in our community do not marry anyone with whom we share an ancestor up to seven generations removed, we make inquiries and research well. With you, the process is much simpler. One meets and marries. The school helps navigate the way in this area as well."

Rahel, the housemother: "They experience these painful times of adolescence without their parents' support. They are very sensitive and easily broken. One must

remember that each of them has experienced severe hardships, which even an adult would find it difficult to cope with."

The girls' low self-image stems in part from health and medical problems. The school has assumed responsibility in this area as well. Rahel: "One of the girls needed orthodontic treatment costing 4,000 shekels. I collected the sum from contributions. Another girl needed a cornea transplant at Me'ir Hospital. The cost of importing the cornea from abroad is \$200. I directed the physician to order the cornea, and I said that I would take care of the money. Most of the girls arrived with tattoos on all parts of the body, including the face. When they were young, they were marked to commit them to 40-year-old fiancés. The tattoos are removed through laser-ray treatment. The school obtained the money. Silonim points to the dullness of the different governmental offices regarding absorption. [According to him], they speak of absorption but do not actually implement it correctly. He himself divides his time between directing the school and traveling in Israel and abroad to solicit contributions. "The money has been exhausted and the danger of closure is hovering over the school. If the school is forced to close its doors, the state will have to finance another 30 welfare cases each year [says Silonim]."

The project to absorb young Ethiopian women in Qedumim is unique in that it chaperons and monitors the girls after they finish their studies. Silonim: "Studies and work are carried out under laboratory conditions. When they disperse throughout the country, they are without relatives, acquaintances, or kin. They have no one. The chaperon whom we assign to each one fills the vacuum of a parent or a friend. Hanna Urin, an educator, points to the insensitivity of the Absorption Ministry: "In addition to serving as a shoulder and a support and trying to fill the vacuum of a family, I help pave the girls' way through the labyrinths of the bureaucracy. In one case, they housed two of our girls together in 64-square meter apartment with an 80-year-old woman. The differences in mentality between the young and old generations caused serious problems, conflicts, and disagreements between the two parties. They turn the lights on, she turns them off, they listen to Amharic music, and the elderly woman cannot tolerate it. One day, the elderly woman expelled one of the girls from the house, claiming that she was not Jewish. I was told at the Absorption Ministry to call the police. Since I know Yiddish, I managed to restore peace for the time being. I have become the caretaker not only of the Ethiopians, but also of the old woman. In the meantime, there is quiet, but the scenario must not be repeated."

The team in Qedumim is also satisfied. To date, they have put 100 girls on their feet and even helped arrange marriages for a number of them. Silonim: "We represent the bride. We take care of all her needs, from clothing and the wedding ceremony to furniture and even a house. We arranged a trailer in Qedumim for a couple. I get my satisfaction when they come to visit me on

Saturday morning, take their baby out of the carriage, and show me how he is growing. For them, I am the baby's grandfather."

Druze Stand on Military Service, Claims Discussed

91AE0314A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17 Feb 91
p 3B

[Article by 'Attalah Mansur: "Druze Without Inhibitions"]

[Text] On the eve of the Gulf war, the Druze local administration leaders had decided to declare a strike in continuation of their struggle for a bigger slice of the national pie. All the heads of the Druze authorities had one complaint: "When it comes to paying we are treated like Jews and we carry a full load; but when it comes to rights we are treated like Arabs and run into discrimination."

The facts in the field support the claims of the Druze. Daliyat el Karmel, the largest Druze locality in Israel, still does not have a sewage system. The neighboring village on the Karmel, 'Isfiya, also suffers the effects of no sewage, no master plans, and of illegal construction. The National Park on the Karmel is as much of a hindrance to those two villages as the Mount Meron Nature Preserve is to the Druze village of Beit Jann. The Druze, who historically tended to settle on mountain tops for security reasons, fearing attacks from powerful enemies, find themselves surrounded by nature reservations that do not allow them to develop. Of the 5,100 dunam featured in 'Isfiya's master plan and belonging to village inhabitants, 900 are included in the Karmel Park.

Kanji Mansur, the head of the local council, said some of the buildings in this area predate the establishment of the state, but now they have become the object of conflict with the planning authorities. Mansur, son of the late Shaykh Mansur, the former local council head and for a long time secretary of the 'Isfiya Workers Council, brought up the question of jobs for village young men returning from military service. Many of them are unemployed. In recent years attempts were made to develop tourist and recreation facilities in this village and in neighboring Daliyat el Karmel. But the Public Works Department did not respond to appeals to widen the road that links them to Haifa and the Yoqne'am road.

The wind of rebellion is also fed by small budgets and low level of response from the administration. The election of a HADASH [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality] candidate, Attorney Yusef Qavlan, head of Beit Jann's Local Council, as secretary of the Committee of Druze Authorities is one of the signs of the marked shift to the left among extensive Druze circles. The heads of Druze local authorities have for one year now been trying to press for better conditions. Just before the war began, the Druze community was poised to stage its first general strike. However, the security tension persuaded them to give the prime minister and his ministers more

time to fulfill their promises to raise budget allocations to Druze local authorities for developing the necessary infrastructure. Interior Minister Arye Der'i promised the authorities' heads to add 9 million new shekels to their budget this year, but according to them the money is still not there.

Fahmi Halabi, a veteran activist of SHELI [Peace for Equality in Israel] and RATZ [Citizens Rights Movement], who two years ago was elected head of the Local Council of Daliyat el Karmel, the largest Druze locality, said: "Every time we met with government ministers they kept telling us how right we were and how deserving, and how everyone was behind the alliance between the Druze and the people of Israel. But as soon as we left their offices, everything was forgotten. To this day we have not received a plugged penny. And it is no wonder."

Recently the heads of the Druze authorities have been considering renewing their struggle against the government on the assumption that the emergency is not as stringent as in the beginning and that the Israeli economy was back to dealing with routine problems. Mansur was one of those who was pressing in that direction. This is a must, he said; not only have the ministries not done anything, but the people now have trouble paying their debts to the local council, and the council is unable to fulfill its obligations.

Another issue on the Druze agenda that has been stirring signs of rebellion among the Druze population is the removal of Rafiq Halabi as editor of the Mabab TV news program. This case bears testimony to the change affecting the community, whose members like to compare it to a copper plate that sounds the same wherever you hit it. The moral is that the Druze are a united entity who must and do show solidarity. Now this solidarity is acquiring a new political scope.

A large crowd came to attend the Druze demonstration of support for Rafiq Halabi in the village of Yasif. Half a dozen speakers competed in praising Halabi and the rights of this member of the Druze community, this "reserve officer, reliable journalist, and experienced editor." Young men distributed a special edition of the Druze monthly AL KALIMAH which appears in Daliyat el Karmel, which consisted mostly of things said by Rafiq Halabi (who hopes to bring out a book soon) or that were said when the monthly awarded him the title "First Journalist." Expressions such as "son of the community" and "a source of pride for the community" abounded. The magazine cover displayed a picture of Halabi with Shaykh Amin Tarif, the leader of the Druze community. By the way, judging by the wording of the invitation to the protest meeting, Shaykh Amin Tarif stood behind it but did not bother to show up or to send a representative.

The absence of the Shaykh and other prominent shaykhs point to the existence of different currents among the Druze community. The Druze speakers at the meeting

were mostly political activists belonging to the center and the left, from Labor to Shinui, and some further to the left. Although the camp of Halabi's opponents is very varied and includes left-wing people, most of it identifies with right-wing and conservative positions.

In contrast to the camp of Halabi's friends, the former do not like public displays of support. Their stand, however, is clear: The Druze must preserve good relations with the government. According to them, the historical experience of the Druze essentially shows that in order to survive they have to maintain good relations with the government. In their view, Halabi violated that rule.

Why are the conservative Druze afraid to show identification? This is an additional symptom of the marked erosion of their status and their inability to stand up to the torrent of criticism among their community against the government and against the traditional automatic cooperation with the State of Israel prompted by blind communal submission. A senior government functionary who did not want to be identified admitted: "The leftists and those who protest against the government's treatment of the Druze are right. I will not be able to oppose my friends, even if they claim that the public criticism contributes to angering the government." He and a few other people called my attention to statements published against Halabi in HADASHOT by several Druze reserve officers: "The interests of the Druze community dictate that we maintain communication channels to the central government, and responsible Druze must not kick those among their brethren who do so."

Colonel (R) Mzayid 'Abbas, a Labor Party member, former adviser to Prime Minister Shim'on Peres and military governor of Ramallah between 1981-85, offers another frequently heard rationalization for the stance of those Druze who are in favor of maintaining good relations with the present government. "In 1987, when I was at the prime minister's office, I suggested to the directors' committee a list of 20 senior Druze officers in reserve (from major upwards) and I asked that they be placed in various government offices. The Likud ministers expressed enthusiasm and did so, whereas the Alignment ministers ignored the proposal."

'Abbas is currently running for the chairmanship of a new local council, Jit-Noa (formed in the wake of the break-up of the four villages of the Merkaz Ha'Galil Regional Council into two local councils). He, too, added his contribution to the Druze protest: "The Druze soldier is received with honor as long as he is in uniform, but as soon as he is back in civilian clothes he goes back to suspect status. He may be faithfully guarding the borders, but he is not reliable enough to work in certain industrial plants. A Druze soldier about to be released from military service may read in the paper that candidates are sought for Ne'ot Hakikar. He knows from experience that they do not mean him. He is allowed to be at Ne'ot Hakikar only as a soldier. Close to the village Jit there is an uninhabited plateau, while in Jit there are

dozens of soldiers who cannot manage to build a house for themselves. I went to Simha Dinitz, the chairman of the Jewish Agency, and asked to have it given to the Druze. The answer was unambiguous: The Jewish Agency is there for the Jews, not the Druze."

'Abbas rejects the demand that in recent years has been spreading among Druze circles to endeavor to exempt them from military service. However, he is aware of the fact that the pressures brought to bear against military service cannot be ignored. In his view, the Druze turn-about in this matter occurred in 1982, when Druze soldiers found themselves standing against their brethren in Lebanon. Druze leaders in Lebanon, too, whose daily lives are conducted along modern secular lines but who observe the commandments of their religion when they go to the halwa (prayer hall), encouraged young Druze to declare themselves religious and thus get themselves out of military service.

The shift toward right-wing extremism in Israeli politics may also be responsible for the drop in the number of Druze Knesset members [MK] in the Zionist parties. As a result, MK Muhammad Nahfa, a talented writer who succeeded in depicting authentic scenes of village life in the Galilee and a member of HADASH, is the only Druze representative in the 12th Knesset. In the last Knesset elections Nahfa won as a candidate on the HADASH list—the first time in the history of the Druze villages—with most of the votes of the village electorate. Since his election to the Knesset Nahfa, who was used to being ostracized by his community fellows for holding ideas too far left for their taste, now feels as if he has been catapulted in the middle of things. The telephone rings continuously at his home in Beit Jann. His community fellows see him as a "wailing wall" for their problems and the leading shaykhs seek his proximity.

"Much to my regret, my status as a MK surrounds me with an aura of honor. A Knesset seat makes a great impression on many of my people," Nahfa said excitedly about the change in his status. "Imagine, the MK's elected me with a majority of 67 votes to be a member of the commission in charge of appointing Druze qadis. Even MK Verdiger of Agudath Yisra'el voted for me."

As the "first communist Druze in Knesset," as he puts it, he finds himself at the peak of the phenomenon of Druze men refusing to serve in the army, which in the past was limited to leftist circles only. According to him, even his colleagues in the "Druze Monitoring Committee," most of whom are not communists, are exhibiting increasing initiative and involvement in the struggle to repeal the compulsory military service for the Druze community. Among other things, some 8,000 signatures of men subject to military service have been gathered so far for an appeal against conscription which is expected to rally 10,000 signatures. Many of those who refuse to serve still hang on to the religious excuse, but some clearly cite national grounds. Among the latter are Nahfa's two sons. The elder spent one year in jail and then received his

army release; the other has been arrested so far for two months and is facing an additional military trial.

Most of those who refuse to serve managed to get away by declaring that they were religious. Salman Falah, director of the Department for Education and Culture for the Druze agrees that there is a growing trend among young Druze to turn to religion. But he does not see any connection between embracing religion and military service. He is in favor of continued compulsory military service for the Druze. "The movement against military service is an emotional reaction to inequality of rights," he said. Despite all the efforts, "The gap between Jews and Druze is not closing. On the contrary, it is growing."

Levi Eshkol's government in 1968 decided to transfer the Druze affairs from the Arab departments within government offices to regular government agencies, and from that viewpoint to make them equal to Jews. Later, the Likud government, at the initiative of Minister Moshe Arens, decided to put the Druze villages on the same footing as neighboring developing towns. Years have gone by, however, and the Druze continue to get inferior services in all areas. The relatively small number of Druze students in academic institutions arouses great anger among community activists. Most of them claim that the military service interferes with their development. Many soldiers get married during their service and by the time they are released they have to carry the burden of a family, so they cannot continue their studies.

Kamal Mansur, formerly of the "Propaganda Center," raised an interesting argument, especially coming from him: "The main problem of the Druze is that they treat government ministers as hosts, rather than citizens. When a minister comes to visit, the Druze notables shower him with every hospitality, so his impression is that the Druze have a good life and are happy. The minister has his picture taken with Shaykh Amin Tarif, and all is in good order. The Druze still have not learned to behave like citizens and to have working meetings with visiting ministers."

Kamal Mansur, who is now retired, and his eldest son have a beautiful restaurant at the entrance to 'Isfiya. The modern restaurant of this experienced Druze host can serve as a symbol of the change that is affecting the Druze community: From a conservative community keeping its ancient traditions it is gradually becoming a modern, rational community concerned with its economic future, at least at the individual level, and increasingly unwilling to swallow flattery from the Jewish establishment and ignore the obstacles of discrimination and racism erected by the Jewish society in its path.

Sa'ar-Class Missile Boat Put Into Service
91AE0302B Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew
13 Feb 91 p 18

[Article by Gal Marzan: "On the Road to Sa'ar 5"]

[Text]The Arrow (Hetz) naval ship, a Sa'ar 4.5 model missile boat, was delivered this week to the navy. The

Arrow, to be incorporated into all of the tasks of the missile ship fleet, was purchased from Israel Shipyards in order to serve as a prototype in the final experiments for the innovative future weapons systems of the [naval] corps.

As it is known, the navy ordered five modern Sa'ar ships that are being built in the United States. The future weapons systems that are to be installed in these missile boats, all made in Israel, have already reached the manufacturing stages, and the navy has decided to incorporate them into currently existing ships.

"This ship was built in the early 1980's and it is technically similar to the existing ships," said Lieutenant Colonel R., the technical project team leader. "In light of the need for the missile boat to serve as a prototype, it was decided to purchase it now. The adaptation work continued for two years, during the course of which the structure of the boat was changed in accordance with the technical requirements and the operational characterization."

From the technical perspective, the boat's flotation systems are identical to its Sa'ar model 4 sisters. Its propulsion system allows the ship high maneuvering capacity and higher speed than usual. The most outstanding change that was made in the ship was the installation of an enclosed mast, air-conditioned and protected from the harmful impact of the weather. "Thus, better efficiency of energy is achieved, [as the energy] is not wasted between the transmitters and the antennae," explains the boat's commander, Lieutenant Colonel A.

Additional systems that are currently employed in the fleet are the Vulcan antimissile gun, a field gun, and Gabriel and Harpoon missiles. All of the new weapons systems will also be installed in the new ship. This refers to a modern electrooptic night vision system manufactured by El-Op and an advanced electronic warfare system manufactured by Elisra. The gem of the deck will certainly be the Barak antiballistic missile. "We expect that the equipping period will continue for over a year, at the end of which the systems will also be incorporated into the other Sa'ar 4 and 5 ships," says Lieutenant Colonel R.

"This system was developed by Rafael, Elta, and Mabat. The missile is launched vertically and it possesses very good speed and maneuvering capacity," says Lieutenant Colonel A. "It is intended to intercept all of the missiles threatening the craft. The Barak [missile] will be backed up by missile detecting radar developed by Elta, which will enable the detection of missiles threatening the ship from very large distances. This is so that it will be possible to operate the Barak system against them in time.

"A significant change was made in the battle information center in accordance with the future concept of warfare," says Lieutenant Colonel R. "There is an offensive wall

manned by an officer, who will control missile fire and offensive guns, a position equal to that of a weapons officer," explains Lieutenant Colonel A. "The second wall is the defense wall. The defense officer will be responsible for the electronic warfare systems defending against the missiles and for the firing of antiballistic missiles. An electronics officer will be stationed in this position. The DNC officer (detection, navigation, communications) will be called a tactical officer. He will be stationed near the missile detection radar and other detection systems. His job will be to construct the picture of the battlefield and to present it to the commander."

The change is not merely one of semantics and design. The division of responsibility has also changed. Currently, the electronics officer operates only the electronic warfare systems. On the Arrow and its offsprings, both the defensive and the offensive officers will have the opportunity to employ the Volcan (the antimissile gun) and the Barak.

Lieutenant Haggai, an outstanding cadet in an electronic naval command course, who has already learned to call himself a defense officer, arrived at the Arrow after serving on the Geula and the Haifa naval ships. "The main change in terms of the weapons systems and the operational concept is in the realm of defense. I am entrusted with a great deal of responsibility. The fact that I have the opportunity to employ soft defense by means of electronic warfare, as well as hard defense by means of the Barak and the Volcan, gives me a very substantial role in the ship's operation at sea. Currently, even on ships in which the Volcan gun is installed, the electronics officer does not have the opportunity to operate it."

Lieutenant Gal, an outstanding cadet in a naval weapons command course, requested to be assigned to the Arrow "out of a desire to participate in the absorption of the new systems, and to be the first offensive officer in the navy." As an offensive officer, Lieutenant Gal is responsible for the maintenance of the Barak system and its operation as a sea to air and sea to sea missile. "I went through naval weapons command and, therefore, I still think like a weapons officer instead of an offensive officer. Once we get into operational activity at sea I will be able to concentrate on the offensive dimension of combat and to unload defense tasks like defense by means of the Volcan gun."

The commanders began to put together the crew of the ship, which will begin its initial training shortly, even before the Arrow had tasted the salt of the sea. "The personnel, which is composed of 50 officers and soldiers, was designed in order to fulfill the ship's mission," says Lieutenant Colonel A. This means that associate engineers, technicians, and operators were chosen out of the personnel roster of the missile ship fleet. The quality of the personnel is better than average, because people were chosen who are capable of dealing with the absorption of the new systems. "The crew was built upon a frame of veteran soldiers (approximately 50 percent), among them six NCO's in the professional army, a unique

phenomenon in the missile ship fleet. The veteran soldiers, who have a wealth of professional experience, are capable of laying the foundation for the construction and design of the ship very well. The other soldiers arrived straight from the training bases upon the completion of their courses. The existing custom in the navy is that every outstanding cadet is entitled to request to serve on a particular ship and, as this ship presents a professional and technical challenge in terms of the absorption of the equipment, alongside a personal challenge with regard to the design of the ship's character, many requested to be stationed here."

Captain Ofer, chief (machine officer) and deputy commander of the ship, arrived at the ship approximately one year ago and dealt with the crew's reception. "Every soldier that came here was brainwashed—we explained to everybody that they are the best. We are very strict about discipline, as the ship is on land and the schedule is not crowded, in contrast with the schedule on an operational ship," says the chief. "Here, on the new ship, I have the time to work with each soldier and to form his behavioral norms. On a veteran missile ship, the level of maintenance and the behavioral norms are fixed. Here, we have determined very high behavioral norms and we hope that this is what will establish the ship."

The Arrow's crew is training in defense plants, learning the new systems. They will be the first training corps that will help to build and teach the courses within the corps. Lieutenant Haggai and Lieutenant Gal say that they chose to report to the Arrow because "part of the interest is the ambition to go to the United States and to be incorporated into the crew of the Sa'ar 5." In other words, to be pioneers of technology.

LEBANON

Tourism Minister Arslan on Cabinet, National Issues

91AE0304D Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English
28 Jan 91-3 Feb 91 pp 12-15

[Interview with Talal Arslan by Nadim Abu-Ghannam: "Call for Talks to End the Gulf War"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts]

[Boxed item]

As the conflict in the Gulf was erupting, we asked Minister of Tourism Talal Arslan to speak of his impressions of the crisis. [passage omitted]

Here is a translation of the interview.

[Abu-Ghassam] What is your response to those parties who have accused the Karami government of being so largely of one (i.e., pro-Syrian) "color?" Do you think that in the light of the present row, this cabinet can get down to business soon?

[Arslan] All of us know the circumstances through which the country has passed for the past 16 years, and which forced the formation of the present cabinet. Today we have a cabinet of one "color," namely, that of the militias, or the heads of militias. The al-Ta'if accord is very clear and calls for the formation of a national union government which includes all Lebanese parties, or the majority of these parties. This cabinet has been formed to achieve national reconciliation, and to put into practice what remains to be applied in the al-Ta'if accord. What is more important than the al-Ta'if accord is the fact that this cabinet has emerged from a plan agreed upon in the Lebanese Parliament, with regional and international blessing, and the mission of this cabinet is to implement this accord, not more or less. The boycott by certain parties has astonished us, because those who agreed on the al-Ta'if accord, have suddenly considered this cabinet as not representing the Lebanese unity. So why from the beginning agree to the al-Ta'if accord, and then put obstacles in its way?

We cannot allow one group of Lebanese to monopolize political power if we believe that the country is still a democracy. Is it true that the Lebanese Forces and the Phalangist Party both represent the Christians in Lebanon? No, but they represent a certain category, and they have their own representation in the cabinet. But there are other groups and other prominent figures who represent non-Christians in the cabinet, and have their own role, and position. The solution must not be at the expense of anyone, if a solution is to be achieved.

[Abu-Ghannam] The Phalangist Party and the Lebanese Forces militia say the composition of the cabinet and the circumstances in which it was formed indicate a situation of "victor and vanquished" as a result of the civil war. Do you agree with this view?

[Arslan] It is clear that no Lebanese grouping has been able to subdue the others, and that none of them will be able to do so in future. There is neither victor nor vanquished. There must be a final solution to the crisis, even if this takes 10 or 20 more years. In the long run, if a solution is to be reached, it must not be at the expense of one party against another. The solution will comprise concessions from all the Lebanese sects and factions for the welfare of State and people.

[Abu-Ghannam] Are there likely to be attempts to undermine the al-Ta'if peace process?

[Arslan] The Lebanese and the world at large are now more optimistic about the prospects for peace in Lebanon because of the guarantee given by the Arab tripartite commission and Syria in regard to application of the al-Ta'if accord, which is the first step to a Lebanese solution. All of us know that this cabinet, or any other cabinet, can implement the al-Ta'if accord if there is regional and international accord for it. We are not proposing anything new, and are not trying to do anything outside the al-Ta'if accord. We as a cabinet face a

regional and international accord to settle the Lebanese issue, and can do nothing other than implementation.

[Abu-Ghannam] So the peace process will not be the object of attack?

[Arslan] Never. Since there is regional and international accord to implement the al-Ta'if accord and to reach a solution for the Lebanese crisis, no one can obstruct it.

[Abu-Ghannam] You do not think the stands taken by the opposition will adversely affect the process?

[Arslan] In my opinion, they cannot have a great impact. Nobody can obstruct the solution to which everybody has contributed, which everyone has signed, and in whose achievement everyone shares.

[Abu-Ghannam] Will its implementation be delayed?

[Arslan] We hope that its implementation will not be delayed.

[Abu-Ghannam] How will the cabinet confront the problem of disbanding the militias?

[Arslan] The disbanding of militias is a basic item in the al-Ta'if accord and it will be the major item for the cabinet. There should be a solution for this issue, but not at the expense of those young men who took part in the militias. The cabinet should be aware of their position, of the fact that they enrolled in militias because they had no other means of livelihood. They must be rehabilitated, either by being enrolled in the Army or Internal Security Forces, or by receiving other employment.

[Abu-Ghannam] Will ministers who decline to join the cabinet be asked to resign or to designate alternate ministers?

[Arslan] I believe that all the cabinet members will notice that the solution in Lebanon is on course and cannot be obstructed by any means. I will not go into the details of this subject but certain ministers have contacted the boycotting ministers personally, and frequently. We gained a vote of confidence (on January 10), and I think in the forthcoming sessions of the cabinet this subject will be discussed and a solution for it will be reached.

[Abu-Ghannam] Conflict in Lebanon is often triggered by conflict elsewhere in the Middle East. Do you think a Gulf war might spark a new round of fighting in this country?

[Arslan] We hope to be truly entering the phase of peace in Lebanon. I cannot say that the Gulf crisis will not affect Lebanon or the Arab region as a whole, such is the gravity of the crisis. Nobody can predict what the outcome would be if war breaks out in the Gulf.

[Abu-Ghannam] There are perhaps those who might have an interest in setting off a new round in Lebanon....

[Arslan] Definitely there are those who wish to obstruct the process of peace in Lebanon. We hope that war will

not erupt in the Gulf region, because it will not serve anyone's interest. I am not discussing the Lebanese level, but the regional and international levels, because any eruption of violence in the Gulf will have incalculable consequences, especially in the Arab world.

[Abu-Ghannam] Tourism once formed a major sector of the Lebanese economy. How does the Tourism Ministry, which you now head, plan to revive this sector after almost 16 years of conflict?

[Arslan] As everybody knows, the tourism situation depends directly on the security situation. When the authority of the State has been firmly established, and when the militias have been dissolved and their weapons surrendered, only then can we go ahead with the promotion of tourism, encouraging visitors from other countries, including Western countries, to visit this country. Besides, we should encourage internal tourism, i.e., introducing the Lebanese to each other. Tourism has a major role in the reconciliation process which must take place among Lebanon's diverse communities, and many Lebanese particularly younger ones, know very little of those parts of the country other than their own home regions.

[Abu-Ghannam] Does this mean that the Tourism Ministry has no plans to encourage visitors to come to this country from abroad?

[Arslan] Spreading the State authority is very important. Any touristic facility of the State outside Beirut must be rehabilitated. The area outside Beirut is not under the control of the government. The security situation is a basic issue for tourism. On the other hand, the situation in the Tourism Ministry is not the fault of its personnel, but is due to the general situation. So, in order to work seriously in this sector, we should rehabilitate it. Vacant posts should be filled with competent personnel. The Touristic Police still are understaffed, under-equipped and underfunded. The Directorate of Antiquities has no administrative personnel. We have no antiquities experts to supervise the archaeological remains we have received from the past, and which are an important attraction for foreign visitors.

[Abu-Ghannam] In view of the new closeness in Lebanon's relations with Syria, have you considered the possibility of a visit to Damascus to concert with your Syrian opposite number in regard to promoting tourism in the two countries?

[Arslan] Brotherly cooperation between Lebanon and Syria implies working together for the welfare of the two sister states. We, the Lebanese Ministry of Tourism, should coordinate efforts with the Syrian Tourism Ministry to encourage foreign visitors to come to both countries.

[Abu-Ghannam] As you take up your cabinet portfolio, what are your aspirations for the future, in the light of the present situation on the ground?

[Arslan] I have no personal aspirations. All I care for is that the young men who paid a high price during the sixteen years of war will have a nation built on a firm and just basis, and be given the opportunity to prove their capabilities on all levels. The war took place at the expense of Lebanon's young, so special account should be taken of their needs and requirements. They, and the Lebanese people in general, should feel that the State exists to serve them.

I have full confidence in the ability of the Lebanese to maintain the achievements of the last 14 months and to overcome all future difficulties.

[Abu-Ghannam] What are your impressions as war breaks out in the Gulf? How might it affect Lebanon, do you think?

[Arslan] I do not think Lebanon will be the scene of violence of any kind, but since it is close to the theater of war, it will certainly be adversely affected. We can see it in the anxiety people feel, in their forebodings, in the rise in prices and the hoarding of certain commodities by merchants.

I hope energetic measures will be taken to bring this war to a speedy end. Negotiations should begin to work out a political and diplomatic settlement. If the Gulf war continues, the whole region will be set ablaze and set back for decades.

Ba'th Secretary-General on Gulf War, National Issues

*91AE0304B Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English
4-10 Feb 91 pp 18-22*

[Interview with 'Abdullah al-Amin by Nadim Abu-Ghannam: "Closing Lebanese Ranks at a Critical Time"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts]

[Boxed item] As the war in the Gulf between Iraq and its foes unfolded, the general secretary of Lebanon's (pro-Syrian) Arab Ba'th Party Organization, 'Abdallah al-Amin, cast the crisis in somber perspective for Lebanon as well as for the wider Middle East region. [passage omitted]

Amin—a minister of State in the cabinet of 'Umar Karami—said that "Lebanon, an Arab country located close to the theater of war, cannot fail to be deeply affected by the events in the Gulf, even though it is not the scene of actual fighting." [passage omitted]

Here is a translation of the interview, which was conducted in Arabic:

[Abu-Ghannam] How will Lebanon be affected by the war in the Gulf do you think?

[al-Amin] Clearly the war will have serious economic consequences. Billions of dollars are being spent to pay for it, billions that might otherwise have been spent to

enhance living standards, the public welfare. Politically, the war has divided the Arabs into two sharply-opposed camps, and perhaps more than two camps. Arab potentialities are thus greatly reduced.

Lebanon, an Arab country located to the theater of war, cannot fail to be deeply affected by the events in the Gulf, even though it is not the scene of actual fighting.

Our position is all the weaker in that we are trying to recover from the "war of liberation" and to achieve a measure of national accord, so in a way our position is more delicate than that of some of our neighbors. That is why our leaders should take a firm stand and a national position, unifying ranks in order to confront negative events in this country as well as in the Gulf.

As far as the war is concerned, we stand with those sympathetic to the Iraqi people, army and state. We support the people of Iraq because any danger threatening any Arab state may also threaten us. But we wholly distinguish between the Iraqi people and Saddam Husayn, because inasmuch as you are with the Iraqi people, you are against Saddam Husayn, and vice versa. The fact is that this ruler of Iraq has dragged his people into a disaster, and he now threatens to drag the Arabs in general into a greater series of disasters. For eight years Saddam wasted the resources of his country in an insane war with Iran, a war fought to no purpose, and in which no victory was gained. It was unfortunate that some Arab countries, foremost of which were Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, sided with Saddam during his war with Iran, thus rendering him a great service, and thus squandering some of their own resources. Our party took a very firm stand against Saddam's war with Iran, and for this we were accused by some of the Arabs of denying our Arab identity, of betraying the Arab national spirit.

Then, last August, Saddam suddenly launched into a new adventure by attacking one of those who helped him against Iran. He invaded and occupied Kuwait, and made menacing military gestures towards Saudi Arabia, another of those which had given him timely aid. In so doing he committed a new crime against the Arab nation, one whose grave implications became clear when his actions provoked the Atlantic powers, principally the Americans, to move hundreds of thousands of their troops to the Gulf to lay their hands on Arab resources.

This is my view of the Gulf war, and of Saddam Husayn. We do not deny other people's points of view, but we call on them to join in a constructive dialogue on our national security and on the welfare of our people.

[Abu-Ghannam] What precautions has the government taken to shield the Lebanese from the worst consequences of the war?

[al-Amin] The cabinet has formed an emergency committee in charge of dealing with problems which may face Lebanon as the result of negative aspects of this war, on the supply level in general. During the latest cabinet session, the committee said that Lebanon was not able to

face the current situation for a period of at least one and a half months. The committee says that adequate supplies of Syrian oil are available, supplies which are guaranteed. The prices of essential commodities, including oil, will rise, in some cases because of the increase in the cost of insurance premiums throughout the Middle East because of the war.

Another step the government is taking is to mount patrols to curb hoarding and profiteering.

We hope the measures the committee is taking will be enough to guarantee the supply of fuel and foodstuffs for the time being.

[Abu-Ghannam] How well is the consolidation of the Greater Beirut security plan proceeding? Does the Army expect any obstacles to be posed by one or other of the paramilitary organizations?

[al-Amin] The security plan has moved from its political phase to its security phase. The declaration of the security plan by the previous cabinet was one of the most important achievements of that cabinet. But, as is well-known, this political step remained within its political framework, without dealing with the security issues within Greater Beirut. The present cabinet should have started from where the former cabinet reached. This is why the plan for reinforcing Greater Beirut on the security level was set up. Application of this plan has now begun, beginning with the area of the Metn and extending as far as Beirut. This plan has been Metn (northeast of Beirut) and extending to the capital [as published]. So far the security forces have not faced any obstacles while being deployed.

[Abu-Ghannam] If the Army encounters any opposition, will it be able to count on support from the Syrian forces?

[al-Amin] I believe that the Army is now able to put into practice this plan without external aid. But if there is need for assistance, the ministers of defense and the interior are authorized to ask for such an aid from the Syrian Arab forces, and at the same time, the cabinet and the premier have been informed of the readiness of the Syrian troops to render service whenever they are asked to do so.

[Abu-Ghannam] What are the prospects for an improvement in the supply of water and electricity, which are now rationed, in principle, to about three hours a day?

[al-Amin] I do not want to hold the previous cabinet responsible for matters which were not its fault. The supply of water and electricity are deficient not because of failures by the previous cabinet, but because of the effects of constant armed conflict and the resulting destruction of installations. Even where facilities have not been wrecked, they do not always work properly, since they cannot always be properly maintained, either because of war conditions or because there is no money available—or both.

Thus, improving supplies of water and electricity depends on:

(1) providing financial resources to repair facilities and to rehabilitate certain equipment, and (2) providing adequate security, lack of which at certain times prevented staff from performing their duties. Time is needed in this respect. I have been told by the minister of Resources that a timetable for the supply of water and power will soon be published. Mind you, the problems in this regard are enormous, such is the extent of the damage.

[Abu-Ghannam] What is the likelihood that Israel will stage a significant attack on Lebanese territory in retaliation for attacks by the Palestinian Resistance on Israeli territory, or on Israeli-occupied territory in Lebanon?

[al-Amin] Israel is an enemy and is always trying to harm Lebanon therefore Mr. Bouz is attracting the attention and warning against Israel. He is attracting the attention of the superpowers, in order to make Israeli intentions towards Lebanon very clear.

Israel is now occupying part of Lebanese territory, and there is nothing to prevent Israel from continuing its attack on us. However, we should not give Israel any pretext to launch any land attack, or even a series of air raids on Lebanon, particularly on the Palestinian camps. It is very important that we and our Palestinian brothers should be very careful, and should provide the maximum of security for our people and for conditions in Lebanon.

It is clear that there is great pressure exerted on Israel to prevent it from launching any military operation at this time, because of the Gulf war. This pressure comes from the Western countries which are allied with Israel in this war.

[Abu-Ghannam] Palestinians and others have been firing Katyusha rockets into Israel's self-declared "security zone" in South Lebanon, doing so, some reports say, in order to open a "second front" against Israel on behalf of Iraq. Might Israel not use these attacks as a pretext for a major attack on Lebanese territory?

[al-Amin] Israel is not in need of Katyusha or commandos operations to justify its aggression. It can justify its attacks with any stupid excuse. But we should be alert and not allow it to have any pretext. I also believe that the Katyusha rockets will not liberate the land. On the contrary, such rockets before 1982 allowed Israel to invade Lebanon and to besiege Beirut. We should learn a lesson from our experience that this kind of resistance—with my deep respect to all resistance fighters and their sacrifices—is not effective, but creates a pretext for Israeli attack.

[Abu-Ghannam] What about those who have been appointed cabinet ministers but who are boycotting

cabinet meetings, notably Lebanese Forces militia commander Samir Ja'ja'. How can their grievances be redressed? And who is carrying on their duties in their absences?

[al-Amin] There are discussions going on between the boycotting ministers and others who are mediating between them and the cabinet. As far as I know there is progress on this level, and some ministers are performing their duties in their ministries without attending cabinet meetings. Whenever need arises for the fulfillment of certain formalities, and where a minister is absent and unable to perform these, there are acting ministers who can sign such formalities, and act as the original minister.

[Abu-Ghannam] Will the Ba'th Party Organization be consulting with the Lebanese Forces militia to further the process of national reconciliation?

[al-Amin] We, in the Ba'th Party, are taking part in the cabinet of Prime Minister 'Umar Karami, and the Lebanese Forces are represented in this cabinet by their commander, Dr. Samir Ja'ja'. Participation in this cabinet means that national reconciliation is reached through approval by all parties of the al-Ta'if accord. There remain personal issues. We in the Ba'th Party Organization have no personal enmities against any party. We might differ with certain people, but we do not have personal enmity towards anyone. Both the Lebanese Forces and ourselves have given assent to the al-Ta'if Agreement, and we are ready for dialogue with them on the basis of the accord and with the objective of extricating Lebanon from conflict and unifying the nation.

[Abu-Ghannam] Another malcontent in the Lebanese "establishment" is Progressive Socialist Party leader Walid Junblatt, who recently resigned from the Karami cabinet for reasons not wholly clear. Junblatt has in the past been an ally of your party, but now it seems relations between you have cooled. Are you moving to repair the breach?

[al-Amin] I am astonished at the stand declared by the spokesman of the Progressive Socialist Party, in which he attacked us. When Minister Junblatt submitted his resignation, we expressed our point of view, and left the matter to him because it was his own right to decide his personal stands without consulting anybody. But if this resignation was not for personal but for national reasons, as those close to Mr. Junblatt say, then we object to the resignation, in view of the fact that we and Minister Junblatt are partners in the enterprise of maintaining the unity and Arab identity of Lebanon. If he had put this issue to us, we might have resigned with him if we were convinced that our presence in this cabinet might harm national interests. This is what we said verbally when commenting on Junblatt's resignation. Later on, we learned that Minister Junblatt was launching a campaign against us, and against me personally, but I forgive him, considering this campaign as from brother to brother,

something which can be overlooked. But what is regrettable is that Minister Junblatt's spokesman has gone beyond the level of political manners in addressing accusations at our party, and this has surprised us and forced us to respond to this spokesman as we have done in the press.

We are ready to work with all parties for the good of the nation, but we are not ready to listen to remarks which seek to cast aspersions on our party or on persons who belong to it. If Minister Junblatt wishes to withdraw from the alliance of national parties, let him say so, and no one will hold anything against him.

MOROCCO

Government Plans Future Rail Network

Project Planning for 1992

91AA0229A Rabat AL-ANBA' in Arabic 26 Jan 91 p 3

[Article: "Rail Sector in Context of Development Plan, Outlook to 1992"]

[Text] Goals for the rail sector under the 1988-92 economic and social development plan include making the rail system more successful, utilizing the maximum of present and future resources to promote transportation, and raising the potential speed of the network.

The National Railroad Bureau has continued its efforts to improve its technical and commercial performance by influencing the elements of excellence in transportation—suitable equipment, appropriate schedules, satisfactory commercial speed, reliability, etc.

Railroad modernization projects under study or being completed aim at these goals. These projects affect about 640 km, of which 150 km involve improvements defined by the plan. The increased potential speed will enable the network to guarantee rapid transport by 1992 on the following two links: Rabat-Tangier in under four hours, and Rabat-Fes in under three hours.

By 1995, trip time on the following routes will decrease as follows: Rabat-Tangier to under three hours, and Rabat-Marrakech to under three hours, while Rabat-Oujda will save two and one half hours over the current time for the trip.

The following transportation equipment and rolling stock is to be acquired:

- 80 passenger cars—contract already concluded.
- 800 freight cars of various kinds: 530 of these are to be delivered between February 1991 and April 1993, at a rate of 22 a month, with 270 freight cars to be put into service after 1992.
- 18 series E-1300 electric locomotives are to be delivered at the rate of one a month beginning in December 1991, with the last to be delivered in May 1993.

- An extender [maddad] train for cable-laying [katina] operations, with delivery planned for August 1990.
- 12 series DL-50 traction locomotives, with delivery arranged for between June and September 1990.
- 19 series DM-250 diesel-electric shunting locomotives, to be delivered at the rate of two a month, starting in March 1991.
- 200 20-foot international container [cars], with the contract in the conclusion stage.

The network will be electrified and the cable [katina] lines modernized as follows:

- The cables [katinah] will be modernized over a distance of 317 km, with the work having been contracted starting from October 1990.
- Lines linking Mohammed V Airport will be electrified.
- Double-tracking between Rabat and Kenitra will be electrified.
- Five branch electrical stations will be built, with delivery planned at the end of 1991, at the rate of one branch electrical station a month.

Equipment and material for workshops: Heavy and light equipment will be modernized to improve reliability and safety.

Network To Be Extended

Two important projects are included in the 1988-92 plan:

- Connecting a rail link to Mohammed V Airport: Work has gone forward under the plan 77 percent; building of the underground station will begin immediately.
- Double-tracking the line between Rabat and Kenitra.

Work on two other important projects will begin as soon as funding permits:

- The Taourirt-Nador line: The line was established to carry SONASID iron, coal, minerals, etc. Currently, the National Railroad Bureau provides transportation for SONASID products from Taourirt station by a combination of rail and road.
- The Marrakech-Laayoune unity line: This line will permit linkage of our Sahara provinces with the provinces of the north. Along with the direct Strait of Gibraltar link, this will form the main link that will make it possible to connect Africa to Europe across two axes—Rabat-Cairo, and Tangier-Dakar.

Direct Europe-Africa Link Across Strait of Gibraltar

At the point of the Strait of Gibraltar, a water passage only 15 km wide separates Europe from Africa. The two continents have known trade movements for many centuries. Growth of these requires the establishment of an infrastructure for land transportation. The permanent link across the Strait of Gibraltar will constitute an important factor for economic growth.

As a member of the Mixed Moroccan-Spanish Committee, the National Railroad Bureau has approached international railroad organizations to promote this project and has decided to modernize existing lines that connect to this link.

Statistics on Traffic, Railroad Improvement

Total volume of railroad traffic—passenger and freight—in 1989 amounted to 6.687 billion km units.

The following list makes clear the extent of this development:

New railroad appearance to improve quality of services: As part of an improvement in the quality of services, the National Railroad Bureau desires to accentuate the environmental advantage of railroads by affecting the appearance of the railroad.

A broad program will be carried out in concert with local groups. It will aim at:

- Beautifying stations and adapting their architecture to Moroccan regional art.
- Creating green spaces near and alongside the railroad for the entire network.

Statistics on passenger traffic and its development:

It turned out again in 1989 that the development of passenger traffic was stable at the level it had reached in 1987. The results for the fiscal year are as follows:

- Number of passengers in 1989—11.782 million.
- Number transported in 1988—11.556 million (1.9 percent).
- Number of passengers in 1989—2,167.631 million passenger-kilometers (3.6 percent).
- Kilometers in 1988—2,092.488 million passenger-kilometers.

Passenger Train Operations Improved

Beginning 19 May 1989, the introduction of an air conditioned train between Oujda and Fes enabled the village train connection to provide a daily connection on the Casablanca-Oujda corridor.

The increased number of scheduled trains operated during the summer for the benefit of Moroccan workers abroad led to a significant decrease in waiting time in Tangier (about two hours and 15 minutes).

An extension of trips by comfortable buses has affected:

- The Marrakech-Agadir corridor, with the creation of an additional connection linking the connection with the Fes-Marrakech and Marrakech-Fes trains.
- The new Marrakech-Ouarzazate corridor, with the creation of a connection by first-class buses belonging to the N. M. Kh. Company. The link connects with the Hassan train.

Energetic Action To Develop Sales

To combat the tendency toward decreased growth in passenger traffic and to strengthen its place in the market, the National Railroad Bureau has moved vigorously to develop sales in the passenger area.

Each new product has been aimed at responding to the special needs of various classes of potential customers, so as to ensure them appropriate services with the best price and quality advantage.

Thus, beginning 1 January 1989, the following special fares were instituted on domestic service during periods of low passenger traffic, as advertised to passengers by signs in all stations:

- Families: 50 percent discount for all children between the ages of four and 12 (valid during off periods, as well as during busy periods); canceling the ticket-preparation charge for families with many members.
- Young people over 12 and below the age of 26: a yearly ticket costing 100 dirhams entitles one to 16 regular trips at half fare.
- Those 26 years of age and over: 20 percent discount for groups of six to 24 persons; 30 percent discount for groups of more than 24 persons; 30 percent discount for "mustanwila" cars and trains [dhahab 'ad]; 40 percent discount for "mustanwila" trains round trip. The surcharge for express trains is subject to the same discounts.

Social Result

The average employee staff stabilized at 13,753 aides, for a slight increase of 2.18 percent compared with last year. The staff saw the following changes:

- 535 appointments within the network,
- 200 retirements or dismissals.

In the area of health, we see a steady increase in employee infirmaries for sickness and injury since 1986.

In a related area, the composition of the staff in terms of railroad activities remained relatively stable, although its development in terms of professional qualification showed a clear improvement in the area of employee training and qualification.

Improvement of General Employee Conditions

The following improvements were introduced in employee pay:

- 5 percent increase in base salary from 1 January 1989.

The following compensations were raised as of 1 January 1989:

- 25 percent raise in compensation,
- 5 percent raise in special compensation.

This raise was followed by an increase in special compensation of 70 dirhams for steps 1 through 10-bis and G1 through G5, and 50 dirhams for steps 11 through 19.

Salaries of station employees have been reevaluated.

Assistance granted for children in school has been raised from 100 to 150 dirhams.

Training

Training in contracting has become a fundamental factor for competition. The speed of change, the development of information, and the dynamic, uninterrupted development of modernization [require] uninterrupted effort to reevaluate information and bring employee's skills up to date.

At the present time we are evaluating training needs in terms of the quality level for which the contractor has planned. The number of functions must be determined and the positions must be defined. In general, resources must be allocated according to patterns of complete quality management that concerns the group of the contractor.

Some time ago, the National Railroad Bureau concluded cooperation agreements with several advanced rail networks, so that its employees might benefit from their expertise and skill in vocational training.

Aware of the importance of establishing and organizing an exchange of expertise among networks, the National Railroad Bureau set up a suitable reception structure. This involved the creation, beginning on 1 November 1989, of a department in charge of international cooperation under the jurisdiction of the assistant general director in charge of employees and training.

In a related matter, the International Union of Railroads—its new activity program—recorded an increase in international cooperation among networks to stimulate and develop regional cooperation in order to guarantee good distribution of information.

To encourage and facilitate the exchange of expertise and information, the advisory board organized in September 1989 at the headquarters of the International Union of Railroads a session to hear papers and share railroad expertise. It was attended by the director general and his closest aides.

Rabat, Airport, Sale Lines

91AA0229B Rabat AL-ANBA' in Arabic 31 Jan 91 p 3

[Article: "Rail Sector Under Continual Development, Toward a Rail Link With Mohammed V Airport, Double Tracking Between Rabat and Sale, Sale and Kenitra"]

[Text] Total length of the network's lines was extended by 54 km—(department) lines or other main lines—in some of the stations that were built at the time that Safsafat station was opened, lines of some stations were

widened, and triple tracks were laid, etc. No change occurred to the length of network's lines.

Railroad Maintenance and Renovation

In general, the scheduled programs were completed in in the best possible manner.

Approximately 35 km of track, including 20 km on the Meknes-Rabat division, were completely renovated. Gravel and ties were renovated along approximately 110 km—including 26 km on the Tangier-Sidi Kacem line, 23 km on the Rabat-Ain Sebaa division, and 20 km between Ben Jerrir and Marrakech.

Rails alone were renovated along 5 km.

Complete review of roadbeds included 1,507 km, while leveling and straightening operations involved 1,995 km.

Ultrasonic inspection involved 2,421 km. This operation made it possible to remove at the appropriate time all tracks or joints that had reached the point of fatigue.

Production Units

The concrete tie factory expanded its activities as follows in 1989:

- Constructing a unit to produce insulating buffer-stops. The unit will be operational beginning in 1990.
- Trading in sea sand extracted from quarries near Kenitra—64,000 cubic meters received, 5,150 cubic meters sold.

All needs for concrete ties and other prefabricated metals were satisfied.

Production of the quarries improved noticeably, although it remains insufficient to cover needs for stone materials to maintain and renovate the roadbeds.

Gravel production covers only 33 percent of needs, with a production of 119,507 cubic meters. [Word omitted] production covers 53 percent of needs, with a production of 88,256 cubic meters.

Railroad Workshops in Casablanca

Field technical crews completed 8,976 thermal aluminum welds, 2,016 meters of relaying the ends of rails, and 8 km of honing wear caused by vibration.

In cooperation with the railroad workshops in Casablanca, three halls for technology were made ready in the railroad center in Rabat Agdal. Study for them was done by the Division of Maintenance and Security.

Railroad Studies

Railroad studies concerned the following projects:

- Full or partial renovation of some unstable sections of roadbed, particularly those formed by light-weight tracks, that include improperly distanced ties, or that

are provided with an insufficient or very "mat-miyyah" layer of "rass."

- Repairing the roadbed to increase the potential speed of the lines, and widening the radius of curvature in some sections of the network lines. Priority has been given to improving the roadbed between Bab Tisra and Ain Karma.
- Double-tracking the line between Rabat and Kenitra and between Kenitra and Sidi Kacem.
- Expanding and renovating some stations. Priority has been given to opening and operating Safsafat station and to renovating Ras Hazma on the Meknes lines toward Fes station.

Maintenance and Operation of Technical Installations

Installations along the entire network were maintained, installations were repaired, and metal installations were painted.

The Ait Jabir and El Akrab tunnels were investigated.

The Bourj Moulay Amer tunnel was strengthened.

The S1 and S2 tunnels at Kurfuda and Hassi Belal were lined.

Slipping hillsides in various areas of the network were stabilized.

"Mukattalat" of the cable [katina] poles along the entire network were replaced.

There were studies of technical installations related to the following projects:

- Connecting a rail link to Mohammed V Airport (medium and large technical installations, an underground station, and building "mukattalat" of the cable poles).
- Double-tracking between Rabat, Sale, and Kenitra (small, medium, and large technical installations, and the building of "mukattalat" of the cable [katina] poles).
- Improvement of Sidi Kacem-Meknes station, strengthening and various preventative measures.

Modernizing Security Installations, Improving Lighting

Structural alterations were made to 12 stations on the direct route between Kenitra and Fes to facilitate crossing without stopping. These stations will be equipped with electrical stations with free, individually controlled switches for signals and with electrically controlled doubling joints.

Security and signaling installations of the Casablanca triangle were renovated. The length of divisions was decreased in order to increase sales for branches of the triangle.

The installations of Bouskoura and Sidi Maarouf stations were repaired to install an automatic light bloc between Casablanca passenger [station] and Nouaceur as part of the project of providing a rail link to Mohammed

V Airport—for this purpose, the flexible shipping center at Nouaceur will be altered.

Flexible relay centers have been installed at Sale Bled, Bouknadel, and Kenitra, and centers with free switches at Rabat City and Sidi Taibi. It has also been decided to install an automatic light bloc between Rabat Agdal and Sale Bled, and a manual bloc for the double roadbed between Sale Bled and Kenitra. The installations of the flexible relay station at Rabat Agdal have been repaired for this purpose.

A manual bloc has been installed for a single roadbed along the Fes-Oujda and Sidi Kacem-Tangier lines.

Development of Remote Communications Network

A laboratory has been established in Rabat to repair electronic cards.

Nine telexes belonging to the National Post, Telephone, and Radio Communications Office have been replaced with remote printers.

An MD-2 cable was moved after repairs to the rail line between Rabat and Kenitra and between Sidi Kacem and Meknes.

An automatic electronic exchange [mubaddil] with approximately 2,000 domestic lines, 40 lines for the network, and 150 lines for automatic external communication was installed and put into operation.

Information links have been established along the entire network.

Worn-out sound and time installations have been replaced at some stations.

Studies have been made for an automatic exchange [mubaddil] that needs to be installed at Safi station.

The installation of electronic manual exchanges [mubaddilat] in some stations and branch electrical stations is being studied.

The establishment of a laboratory at Casablanca to repair radio breakdowns is being studied.

Railroad Installation Maintenance

Maintenance of cable [katina] lines:

- 14 sectors have been reviewed, and 43 are in process of review.
- 23 installations "kh. k. bil-muhattabat" have been reviewed, and 18 are in process of review.
- 7 inspections of lines.
- 181 RT-65 insulators have been replaced.
- 68 poles and 18 gates have been replaced.
- 10 "rajazat" have been laid.
- 102,044 items have been reviewed from among 11,738 scheduled ones.

Maintenance of Branch Electric Stations

The maintenance program that has been completed includes:

- 40 general reviews,
- 30 limited reviews,
- 12 ordinary maintenance operations.

Activity in the Civil Engineering Field

The main achievements are the following:

- Modernizing, refurbishing, or enlarging the bathrooms [b. m.] of the Fes and Oujda stations (phase one). Phase two will be to refurbish the bathrooms [b. m.] of Oujda, including expanding the washing yard that is now being completed.
- Paving the loading and unloading yard and the platforms with asphalt, and setting up an automobile parking lot in Fes.
- Refurbishing or repairing the bathrooms [b. m.] and the sides of a number of stations: Casablanca Passenger, Moulay Mhadi at Ksar El Kebir, Sidi Bouknadel, Skhirat, Mohammedia (work in progress).
- "Tasyih" of the grounds of the National Railroad Bureau at Ksar Kebir and Sidi Kacem and the "N. K. 5" at Casablanca.
- Repairing the department's workshops, buildings, and sanitary facilities, preparing offices and storage, etc.
- Building a 12-apartment building at Safi.
- Completing a unit to produce buffer-stops at the reinforced concrete tie factory in Casablanca.
- Building a workshop for a lathe "bi-hafrah" at Fes, a workshop for a compressor of reinforcement at Casablanca, and a compressor of reinforcement at the Meknes workshops.
- Building a vocational training center for equipment and hauling at Casablanca, and expanding the vocational training center.
- Enlarging the directorate of information building and the general directorate building in Rabat Agdal.

SAUDI ARABIA

Contracts With Kuwait Reported

91AE0295A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
3 Mar 91 p 10

[Article: "Reconstruction of Kuwait Began First Day of Liberation. Saudi Firms Win Five Contracts to Manage Kuwait Cleanup for One Year"]

[Text] Saudi firms have been awarded a number of Kuwaiti contracts to remove rubble and clean up the city of Kuwait over a one-year period.

The five contracts, worth \$202 million, include the hiring and management of labor, machinery, and cleaning equipment. These contracts were recently signed by Muhammad al-Hasawi, minister of state for Kuwaiti municipal affairs.

Likewise, the Kuwaiti Ministry of Health signed a \$23-million contract with a Saudi firm to combat epidemics and rid the country of insects and rodents.

Having made all the necessary preparations and arrangements, the Kuwaitis began implementing the plan for the reconstruction of Kuwait on the first day of liberation.

Necessary foodstuffs have been brought into Kuwait for distribution to Kuwaiti residents. Furthermore, officials, in cooperation with coalition forces, immediately embarked upon a comprehensive survey of the needs of hospitals and medical centers, the restoration of electric power on a limited scale, and the supply of fuel and drinking water to the populace. The emergency plan aims to provide basic services for about 800,000 Kuwaiti citizens and residents.

A sum of up to \$1 billion has been allocated for the implementation of the emergency plan.

The actual implementation of this plan got under way with the liberation of Kuwait. Full medical teams with their supplies had been readied by the Ministry of Health and some of these teams have actually gone into the country to begin their work there.

It was clear that the Kuwaitis had planned for everything. All food and medical supplies had been placed on the Kuwaiti borders before the liberation of Kuwait, waiting to be brought in.

Ibrahim Shahin, project director for the reconstruction of Kuwait, said that planning for reconstruction had to be started from point zero on the assumption that the Iraqi occupation would not leave any economic base on which to build. This is what actually happened when Iraqi troops decided to practice the "scorched earth" policy.

Shahin emphasized that, due to their competitive and technological edge and experience in Kuwaiti projects, American firms are being used for reconstruction, adding "Our reconstruction plans are based on the currently available manpower there. Kuwait will not only build its installations; it will also rebuild the Kuwaiti human being."

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Commanders Lash Out at Parties' Leaders

91AS0717A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 14 Feb 91 p 3

[Article by Syed Bukhar Shah]

[Text] The Afghan commanders of the northern provinces of Afghanistan have warned that they would never accept any imposed government and severely criticized the holding of elections which they viewed were being done to prolong the war and destroy the war-torn country.

Addressing a joint press conference at Press Club, Peshawar on Wednesday, the Afghan commanders belonging to various parties including Azizullah Wasafi, Brig Abdulah, Mir Mohammad Daud, Abdur Rahim Chamzai, Assadullah Safai, Mohammad Sharif Ishaqzai, Amanullah Zardan, Shahzada Masoud and Dr Mohammad Sadiq and others said that Afghan had started war in Afghanistan against the communist system and Dr Najibullah who was responsible for the massacre of more than 1.5 million of Afghans.

They said that in the presence of Dr Najibullah peace could not be restored in Afghanistan. They would only accept the government which would be voted to power by the Afghan themselves. The Afghans, they said, had never accepted the government of Dr Najib and Sibghatullah Mujaddadi which had been installed by USSR and the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence] of Pakistan.

Commenting on the question of Zahir Shah and the allegation of some of the people that the former monarch had not played any role in Afghanistan war, the commanders said that it was the internal affairs of the Afghans and no power including America, USSR, Pakistan or Saudi Arabia had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghans. Majority of the commanders were critical of sending Afghans to Saudi Arabia against the government of Iraq, while one of them lauded the decision.

Earlier, the commanders said that they had started jihad for the establishment of Islamic government in their country cut unfortunately they had not yet achieved their goal despite having two million martyrs. This, they said was due to the internal differences among the parties involved in jihad.

They added, "every person knows that the Najib government is still in power but unfortunately the heads of the parties whose only aim is to grab power, were discouraging people fighting the holy war. They are trying to conceal the result of our jihad. These forces, they said once again wanted to make another government like the one established at Rawalpindi Haji Camp. To achieve this aim they are trying to hold elections in the country that could bring another man about whom they have

already decided, as the new head of the interim government of Afghanistan. These forces, they said, wanted to delay the solution to Afghanistan problem.

They emphasized implementation of the plan made by Mohammad Zahir Shah, the ex-king of Afghanistan which was proposed to the U.N. for the solution of Afghan crisis. They also condemned the intervention of foreigners in their internal affairs and asked the world community not to interfere in Afghan affairs.

BANGLADESH

Writer Examines Cause of Anti-Hindu Sentiment in Bangladesh

91AS0449A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 29 Dec 90 p 4

[Article by Sunit Ghosh, "I Got the Hint of Suppressed Hatred of India Among a Certain Class of People in Bangladesh"]

[Text] Sitting in Dhaka, the Bangladeshi capital, you would not know there is a country called India on this subcontinent. Bangladeshi newspapers, TV, and radio provides news about Pakistan. Snowfall in Pakistan is flashed on TV. The media circulate all sorts of news about all kinds of Muslim countries. But whatever little Indian news occasionally creeps into the media would lead you to believe that rioting is Indians' main occupation. Although Indian journalists conceal the communal [relating to religious communities] identity of rioters in the larger interest, foreign news organizations do not bother to do so. Hence the news provided by them tends to create anti-Indian sentiment among Bangladeshis.

The media are not doing this alone. The government-published history books of Bangladesh tell you Indians played no role in Bangladesh's freedom struggle, although 18,000 young Indians laid down their lives fighting Pakistani forces in Bangladesh's war for independence. Indians had to pay excess taxes for about six years to pay for the Bangladesh war and Bangladeshi refugees [who had crossed into India after the Pakistani military crackdown in what was then East Pakistan]. Indian recognition presented Bangladesh before the world as an independent nation when all Arab countries and China turned their backs on it. These facts cannot be learned from Bangladeshi books. Last 16 December when Bangladeshi Victory Day revelers paid glowing tributes to their martyrs, nobody took a moment to recall the Indian soldiers. That the word "gratitude" has no place in political vocabulary can be realized from a conversation with Bangladeshi politicians. Except for Sheikh Hasina [Wazed] and certain old-time leaders of the Awami League, nobody mentions India's contribution even by mistake.

Every time I visit Bangladesh, I am pleased with the hospitality and fellow-feelings of the common people of Bangladesh. At the same time, I do not fail to notice an

undercurrent of anti-Indian feeling among a class of people. There is no doubt that this sentiment has largely been created by the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party], certain fundamentalist politicians, and some so-called intellectuals who consider anti-Indianism the main element with which to establish themselves professionally. I noticed, too, the hollowness of the so-called secularism. It does not seem right to paint everybody with the same brush, but it is necessary to say clearly that the secularism of Bangladeshi politicians and intellectuals is mere pretense.

True, the country's constitution begins with "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful," it declares Islam "state religion" and refuses to accept the establishment of a socialist social system through democratic means. It is natural not to expect secularism in it. Although the late [President] Ziaur Rahman and [deposed President Hussein Mohammad] Ershad introduced these [Islamic symbols], Bangladeshi intellectuals did not raise much protest against them. Their democratic aspirations may be genuine, but a look at the condition of the country's Hindu minority would prove that their stance on secularism is artificial. Having observed the political characteristics of the subcontinent's Muslim-majority countries for the past few years, I can emphatically say that the condition of the minorities in Pakistan and Bangladesh does not compare with that of the minority Muslims in India. Minorities in India are Indian in every sense. They are well-aware of their rights and are active and vocal in the realization of those rights. Certain quarters do not like it, but the common people of India welcome it. In view of Hindu tolerance, there is no dispute about Indian secularism. Caste and communal riots are of course detestable. But today, these riots are no longer one-sided affairs. It is, though indefensible, an indirect proof of the underlying strength of Indian secularism. Although northern India is the bastion of communalism, Muslims there do not have to wear "dhutis" [Hindu man's lower garment] so they look like Hindus. Neither do they have to live in fear everywhere.

The condition in Bangladesh is different. Long ago, circumstances compelled Bangladeshi Hindus to stop wearing dhutis. When you see Hindus milling about in "lungis" [Muslim man's lower garment] at Dhakeshwari Kali Temple, you have no difficulty understanding the state of mind of the minorities in Bangladesh. Back in Pakistani days, Bangladeshi Hindus forgot to use [chaste Bengali word] "jal" for water. Even in independent Bangladesh, they are content to use the [Islamized word] "pani" for water. Hindu women do not go out too often. Whenever there is some trouble, the Hindu housewife immediately takes off her conch-bangle and rubs off her vermillion. In schools and colleges, Hindu youngsters face many problems. Walking in the streets they hear taunts: "There goes the son of the damned!" Those who can afford are ready to leave Bangladesh. Those who cannot are ready to convert just to live. During my recent and previous visits I have reliably learned that a

substantial number of Hindus have converted to Islam even after Bangladesh became independent. Although many Hindu leaders made sacrifices during the Bangladesh liberation movement, today they are ignored in that country's political life. For the sake of security and to avoid police harassment, Bangladeshi Hindus consider it prudent to avoid Indian journalists. In fact, Bangladeshi Hindus nurture a sense of resentment against Indian journalists. They think Indian journalists, pampered by government hospitality and gifts, are content to see a rosy picture of "golden Bengal," that they are not interested in the dark side of Bangladeshi society. When I said I want to hear the other side, they told me the tale of their sorrow; they said it in a low voice, lest someone should overhear.

I learned from them that a few years earlier, Hindu youths had done very well at the civil service exam. The very next year the percentage of those [Hindus] who passed the exam were dropped. If a Hindu young man wants to join the Bangladeshi air force, he is discouraged in various ways. At the slightest provocation, Hindu temples are destroyed, Hindu places of worship desecrated. Last October, Dhakeshwari (Kali) Temple was set on fire and damaged while police watched. The Kali idol was stolen and Gauda monastery razed. The Ramkrishna Mission and Brahma Society, established by Devendranath Thakur, were attacked. At that time, Hindu temples in different parts of Bangladesh were systematically destroyed. Maybe the common people of Bangladesh did not approve of these. Maybe some intellectuals are somewhat pained by it. But the Bangladeshi government or leaders of other political parties are not known to have made any attempts to ensure the safety of the minority Hindus. Leaders of the Awami League, which Hindus consider their own, did little more than issue formal statements. Leaders of the anti-Indian BNP finished their duty by blaming [then President] Ershad [for the incidents]. In fact, the presence of fundamentalist Jamaat [-i-Islami] proved more reassuring for the minority. They [Jamaat leaders] opposed taking revenge on [Bangladeshi] Hindus because of the Ayodhya incident and said: "Hindus may attack Muslims in India. Hindus in Bangladesh have not attacked Muslims. Why then should there be revenge against [Bangladeshi] Hindus?" Neither Sheikh Hasina nor Khaleda Zia has said anything positive like this.

Every secular Indian is ashamed of the riots that recently occurred in northern and western India. The central and state governments should investigate each of these incidents and punish the culprits. In spite of their worries about these riots, Bangladeshis should note that the communal politics of northern India had very little effect on West Bengal. Any communal incident in West Bengal or Tripura might have natural repercussions in Bangladesh. But there is no logical reason for communal riots in northern India to produce reactions in Bangladesh. Yet that is what recently happened in Bangladesh.

Another side of the mentality of Bangladeshi politicians is to see problems between the two Bengals as those

between India and Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a sovereign, independent state. Hence, dialogue should of course be carried on with New Delhi at the government level. Yet Bangladeshi leaders should realize that all their problems—whether it is Tin Bigha or distribution of the Ganges water—involves West Bengal. They should understand that the center cannot make decisions about them without talking with West Bengal. If leaders of the two Bengals can talk things over at unofficial levels, many problems may be resolved speedily. But, having talked with certain politicians in Dhaka, I think they consider “sovereignty” more important than the welfare of the Bangladeshi public.

Hopes Expressed for True Democratic Elections

91AS0515B Calcutta DESH in Bengali 5 Jan 91 p 5

[Editorial: “The Test of Democracy in Bangladesh”]

[Text] Nine years ago we welcomed General Hussein Mohammad Ershad as president of Bangladesh. After the assassination of President Ziaur Rahman, bloodshed continued in that country. The formation of government by Justice Abdus Sattar could not restore law and order. At that moment Gen. Ershad emerged with a gun from the barracks and seized power without bloodshed. Not a single shot had to be fired. Certainly, completely peaceful transfer of power deserves congratulations.

Everybody had hoped that the seasoned general would hold firmly the reins of administration. After coming to power, President Ershad promised to usher in peace and prosperity for Bangladesh by ending pervasive corruption, social and political disorder, economic disruption, terrible food shortage, administrative paralysis, and so on. Alas, nobody could tell then that those noble words were only a trick played by a power hungry person. Soon he showed his true colors.

Bangladesh was born after a terrible war for the sake of a great ideal: to preserve [Bangladeshis'] self-respect. President Ershad's first task was to suppress those freedom fighters who had made the new nation a reality. Mr. Ershad himself did not participate in the freedom struggle. He drew the traitors and agents close to him. The freedom fighters fled. Many were forced to go into hiding. Those who made the country independent could not participate in building it. Mr. Ershad gave indulgence to those who had assassinated the father of the nation, Sheikh Mujib. The murderers began to move about freely and proudly. He began to destroy the ideals for which Bangladesh had been created.

The list of Mr. Ershad's personal and family crimes is long. His wife is accused of stealing hundreds of millions of taka. Mr. Ershad aspired to become a poet. It is reported that certain poets who received his favors used to write poems in his name. He has created division and bitterness in the literary community of Bangladesh. Blinded by power, Mr. Ershad failed to heed lessons of history. He did not notice that democracy-loving people in many countries had wiped out autocratic systems. At

times he resorted to firing on protest rallies causing many deaths. Did not Mr. Ershad know that dictatorship is like riding on a tiger that one day eats up the rider when he gets off its back. In Bangladesh, indomitable students, protesting intellectuals, artists, and writers continued their relentless struggle. When all opposition parties united and joined hands with them, Mr. Ershad's position was shaken. Even the armed forces turned their guns toward him.

Mr. Ershad has been toppled, but Bangladesh still faces a big test, the test of democracy. Since 1971 several attempts to establish democracy in that country were foiled right at the beginning. The history of that country is written with many martyrs' blood. We hope this time the trial of democracy will succeed and Bangladesh, with its irrepressible youth and ceaseless vigilance, will preserve democracy.

Freedom Party Called Threat to Democracy

91AS0450A Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 8 Jan 91 p 4

[Article by Matiur Rahman: “Just What Is Freedom's Limit to the Freedom Party?”]

[Text] For the past few days some strange events are taking place in various parts of the country, including the capital. Especially, the incident in Chittagong University and the revolts of inmates in different prisons including the one in Dhaka, have raised many questions in the public mind. The situation has created doubts about the upcoming parliamentary elections. It may not be proper to comment on how far these events were preplanned. However, many people, including those in the major political parties, have voiced suspicion that they could have been so [planned]. They are making statements that a conspiracy is being hatched to foil the elections, that attempts are being made to fish in troubled waters. It can be assumed, then, that they have some proofs to back up such suspicions. Whether they say it in public, the people of the country already have an idea of who have come out in the field to thwart the elections.

Who are they? Ever since the fall of the dictatorial government of [deposed President Hussein Mohammad] Ershad, a known group has been trying hard to create instability in the country. They are trying to heat up the situation through fiery speeches and statements and armed processions. Their intention is to create a large-scale political crisis in the country. They are the self-proclaimed leaders of the murderous, Fascist “Freedom Party.” They say it out loud: “Now an effort is going on to foil the elections through turmoil and Fascism.” Taking a step further, they say, “It is doubtful whether elections will take place at all.” “Apparently, they are accusing others of the mischief they themselves are trying to commit.” Their slogans: “Action, Action—Direct Action!” “Colonel Faruque, Colonel Rasheed!—Direct Action!” and so on. Recently (on 29 December), [retired] Col. Faruque [Rahman] said at a press conference, “From my youth I have been a professional soldier,

belonging to the infantry, while Col. Rasheed belongs to the armored corps. We are not afraid of rifles, machine guns, heavy machine guns, or anything bigger." Reports say Faruque said something more ominous at the press conference: There won't be a need for the presidential election. These elections are the end of all elections.

Simultaneously as leaders of the Freedom Party try to inflame the situation, they have launched a strong smear campaign against the Awami League and other democratic forces. Simultaneously, too, they have waged a virtual holy war against India. Of course, that is nothing new for them. At the same press conference, Col. Rasheed mentioned the 27 February elections as a referendum on "Bangladesh Zindabad" ["Long live Bangladesh" in Pakistani terminology] rather than for "Joi Bangla" ["Long live Bengal" in classic Bengali terminology]. He said "Bangladesh Zindabad" was established through the change [military coup] of 1975. Col. Rasheed said they could possibly unite with any party except the Awami League and communist parties. This slogan of the Freedom Party indicates that its leaders are eager to use the elections to unite the country's right-wing and reactionary forces. They have continued that effort. They are nervous about the prospect of electoral victory for the democratic forces. None of their candidates is expected to be returned. Of course, they do not believe in the democratic or electoral politics. That is not their path. All their efforts are geared toward creating a crisis and instability to be able to "fish in troubled waters." Their efforts are going on today. They have been in this game for the past 15 years.

At home and abroad, Col. Faruque and Col. Rasheed are known mainly as murderers. They staged the coup of 15 August 1975 and mercilessly killed "Bangabandhu" [friend of Bengal] Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family. They are self-proclaimed murderers. In the 30 May 1976 issue of *The (London) Sunday Times*, an article with Col. Faruque's byline was headlined: "I Helped to Kill Mujib: Do You Dare to Try Me?" In the body of the narrative, Col. Faruque said, "Let the Bangladeshi government try me for the killing of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman if it can." At that time President Ziaur Rahman was the country's head of state and chief martial law administrator. He certainly did not take any measures against that self-proclaimed murderer. A coconspirator of the confessed killers, illegal head of state Khandakar Mushtaque Ahmed, took advantage of the martial law and issued a decree on 26 September 1975 entitled "Exemption From Punishment, 1975," which barred any legal action against the assassins of 15 August. Later, the parliament, elected in 1979 under the rule of Ziaur Rahman, validated that decree. Khandaker Mushtaque had called the murderers "sun children." These "sun children" masterminded the prison killings of 3 November [1975]. Soon after that they were able to leave the country in the confusion of political upheavals. They arrive in Bangkok along with their families. From there they arranged for political assylum in Libya, the haven of international terrorists. There began their new

and many-faceted conspiracies. Faruque and Rasheed met then air force chief [Air Vice Marshal] M.G. Tawab and made several attempts at staging a military coup. They illegally entered the country in April-May 1976 and tried to engineer one. A small insurrection resulted in the Bogra cantonment. Faruque was there at that time. They continued similar efforts after that. Although Faruque entered the country several times, he was not allowed to live in the country permanently. Once he had to spend some time in jail for illegal entry into the country.

A representative of the Ziaur Rahman government met with the conspirators of the 15 August coup. According to an understanding between them, 11 of the 13 murderers, including Col. Shariful Haque (Dalim), were given diplomatic assignments in different countries. In September 1980 almost all of them were absorbed in the Bangladesh Civil Service (Foreign Service Cadre) under a directive from President Ziaur Rahman. But Faruque and Rasheed refused to reach an understanding with the government. They stayed back in Libya and engaged in business deals with the help of Libyan leader [Muammar al-] Qadhafi and others. Simultaneously, they continued to hatch conspiracies inside Bangladesh through various connections. In 1979-80, at their initiative, Bangladeshi youths received military training for terrorist activities at various Libyan military outfits. During the next seven or eight years, about 1,000 (according to some estimates, 2,000) Bangladeshi youths are understood to have received this training. They used to be sent to Libya for three-, six-, and nine-month courses, and were trained to use pistols, light machine guns, and other weapons. Along with that they received political training. Those trained people now form the mainstay of the Freedom Party organization. Available information reveals that their training continued until 1987-88. It all took place within the knowledge of the Zia and Ershad governments.

Besides Faruque and Rasheed, heads of certain Bangladeshi missions abroad and some [other] coup leaders tried separately to initiate uprisings inside Bangladesh. Lt. Col. Aziz Pasha was directly involved in the 17 June 1980 abortive coup spearheaded in Dhaka by Col. Didarul Alam. When he [Pasha] was arrested, he became a prosecution witness. Again, he was accepted in the Foreign Ministry and given an assignment in Rome. Later he was given a job in the External Resources Division of the Finance Ministry. Three other suspects in the coup attempt—Lt. Col. Dalim, Maj. Bazlul Huda and Maj. Shahriyar—fled their places of work. Even after that, Dalim was given diplomatic appointments. When he was made charge d'affaires in Warsaw, the Polish government refused to accept his credentials. Later he was made charge d'affaires in Hong Kong and now serves as high commissioner to Kenya. Despite their roles in that coup, Maj. Bazlul Huda and Maj. Shahriyar returned home at the beginning of the Ershad administration and launched a political organization called "Progs." The group still exists in name. However, Maj. Huda has switched over to the Freedom Party. Of the 11

who received Foreign Ministry jobs in 1976, five, including Dalim, are working at different embassies. Last year, Pakistan refused to accept diplomatic credentials from one of them, namely Maj. Mahiuddin. Each one of them has been promoted several times.

Among the Progs leaders, Col. Faruque and Col. Rasheed paid several visits home during the Ershad administration on the basis of an understanding with the Ershad. They were expected to be used in a "storm battalion" against the democratic forces. First, they began working as a group named "Committee to Implement the Ideology of the August Revolution."

Col. Faruque became a candidate in the 1986 presidential race after an understanding with President Ershad. Later, on 3 August 1987, he formally launched the Freedom Party with a press conference at Hotel Sheraton. At that time, the impression was created that the then government had cooperated with the creation of this organization. In different districts, the first recruits for the party were former members of the armed forces. Not just that, attempts were made to enroll members of different secret armed groups. From these it is clear that in the name of Freedom Party they actually have created a terrorist political organization in the country. For that they do not have a dearth of money. Apart from their foreign business operations, they have made a great deal of money inside the country through businesses run with the backing of the Ershad government. They are also connected with international arms deals. Col. Faruque and Col. Rasheed, in cooperation with a garments manufacturer, tried to launch a bank in individual names. For some reason, the government did not give permission for it.

Ever since the formation of the Freedom Party, its leaders were found involved in various terrorist activities in and outside Dhaka. On 7 November 1987, following a row at a meeting at Press Club Square, Freedom Party leaders and workers opened fire from a jeep under orders from Col. Rasheed, killing a young man. Although a police case was filed on the incident, no action was taken. On 11 February of last year, a businessman was killed in Mymensingh from bullets fired by Maj. Bazlul Huda and others. Police arrested 29 persons including Maj. Huda. They were first refused bail, but granted it later. So far, nothing has come of that case, either. At the time of their arrest, a single-barrel gun, two double-barrel rifles, two pistols, an ax, two iron bars, two hockey sticks and 33 bamboo staffs were recovered from their automobile. Apart from these two incidents, during the past three or four years members of the Freedom Party have carried and even used firearms in processions and meetings in different parts of the country. Yet the government and administration remained silent about it. This is how the Freedom Party has received all opportunities to operate as an armed political party in the country.

The Freedom Party's daily newspaper received all political favors and opportunities from the previous government, suppressed all dirty stories of Ershad's personal life, earned cheap popularity, and has now engaged in a conspiracy to sabotage the upcoming elections. They [Freedom Party leaders] have been joined by some other forces and newspapers. Every day they are carrying out attacks on democratic forces, the caretaker government, and elections. Democratic forces are not able to put up a united response to this assault. That has created concern among the people. More ominously, some of the forces in the [democratic] movement have begun to sing their tune. That has heightened people's concern. But that concern, that fear cannot be allowed to become reality. That would destroy the democratic revolution and drive the nation toward catastrophe.

Competing Political Parties Urged to Strive for Democracy

91AS0515A Dhaka BANGLAR BANI in Bengali
22 Jan 91 p 4

[Article by Siddhartha: "We have to Find the Answers From Amongst Ourselves"]

[Text] The triumph of the upheaval inspired the public with the hope that the eight-, seven-, and five-party coalitions would fulfill an expectation. That [expectation] is that the three coalitions would participate in elections and strengthen the foundations of democracy, and that the all-party student organization would support them in the effort.

Many people sincerely believed that if the three political alliances and the united student group could join hands to struggle against the government, they would not have difficulty going forward with that unity. Political quarters echoed that hope as well. Their optimism stems from the fact that the unity of the three coalitions is necessary to thwart communal and religion-based politics in Bangladesh. The reason: Democracy cannot flourish on the basis of religion or ideology. An example of the first argument is available in this subcontinent. The bankruptcy of ideological politics after 70 years of bombastic claims in socialist countries bears out the second. Ideologically inspired souls who wish to translate their ideology into state policy claim that socialism and democracy are complementary. However, Third World countries need democracy first. Democracy can prevent the sudden emergence of dictatorship. Of course, many people refused to admit that the three coalitions would have a problem contesting elections jointly because of the party system, resulting in inherent traditional and ideological differences.

Politics in Bangladesh underlie three main undercurrents: Bengali nationalism, Bangladeshi nationalism, and leftism. In addition, religious politics has occasionally sparked communalism. On the other hand, the Bangladeshi nationalists are ideologically attracted to the religion-based rightist politics, although they do not

admit it. Yet they object to secularism in politics and state policies without giving indulgence to extremism in party politics. They are unwilling to accept that secularism and irreligion are different things. Hence, when they were in power they had the Fifth Amendment inserted in the constitution. When [former President Hussein Mohammad] Ershad came to power, he brought the process to a full circle by getting the Eighth Amendment adopted.

Besides, the seven-party coalition differs with the eight- and five-party coalitions on whether the system should be parliamentary or presidential. Some leftist parties have called for a national government after the elections to promote the establishment of democracy and solution of the mountainous problems.

But then party interests have become prominent in the election; they were not so during the movement. Everybody looks into his party projects when there is no opposition. This is why distribution of electoral seats [constituencies] became such a major problem. The Awami League is a big party in the eight-party alliance. The seven-party coalition used to exist in name only. In the face of the elections, they all merged into the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party]. The five-party coalition is an organization of small parties. In 1984 it was a conglomeration of 15 parties. In 1986 they emerged as the eight- and five-party alliances. Hence, seat distribution was not much of a problem for them.

One thing should be mentioned here. The three electoral alliances have tried in vain to form a code of conduct to run the elections freely and properly. Only in the case of forming the caretaker government did the three coalitions work in unison. It could not be carried further.

So although it was desirable, the three coalitions could not face the elections jointly. Up until the last moment of filing the nomination papers, the eight-party coalition could not accept joint elections. The three alliances reemerged as three alliances, in different forms. Together, the Awami League, BNP, the eight- and five-party groups now make 18 parties.

Thus, three distinct currents took shape in Bangladeshi politics. One is the original concept of Bengali nationalism. Another is nationalist with a leftist tinge. The third identifies itself as Bangladeshi nationalist. This nationalism has no quarrel with such religion-based rightist parties as the Jamaat-i-Islami, Muslim League and Freedom Party.

Actually, two main currents dominate Bangladeshi politics. The first is divided along ideological lines while the second embodies shades of rightist thinking. The coming elections are therefore a contest between the Awami League and the group of rightist parties, which is not quite unified. In between, there is the last-minute patchwork of 14 parties. The Bengali nationalist forces have been divided in the elections. The political force configuration now taking shape in India has cast its shadow on Bangladeshi politics.

Everybody knows that the eight-party coalition has failed to take part in joint elections. There is a debate over responsibilities. Without going into that debate, it can be said that those who hoped to see fundamental changes in Bangladeshi politics have been disappointed. Naturally, this political polarization cannot strengthen Bengali nationalist politics. I say this because nationalism is controversial in this country. Otherwise, who does not know that the nationalist spirit cannot be suppressed by conspiracy or force, although its crisis can be prolonged.

The purpose of this election is simultaneously to install a large party in power and strengthen democracy. The argument that democracy is jeopardized by a lack of understanding or electoral coalition is not true in all countries and circumstances. Everywhere different parties form electoral alliances from time to time. Such ententes do not have any lasting significance. They are election strategies. But it has been a long-standing problem with the politics of this subcontinent that parties capitalize on ideological differences to expand their influence or spread hatred.

It is not possible to make changes in political or economic trends outside of the nationalist ideology. Some will argue it is not healthy to have one dominant party for a long time. Such an attitude does not help strengthen the parties and it brings miseries for the nation.

Whether the Awami League has left the eight-party coalition or the coalition has jettisoned the Awami League is subject to different interpretation on the campaign trail. Such a debate does not make a contribution to the establishment of democracy in a country.

Essentially, such political polarization could offer opportunities to those who brought about fundamental changes after 1975. They consider it useless to talk about the consciousness of the freedom struggle. The current trend suggests that forces that are trying hard to deny the contribution of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the freedom struggle and the politics of Bangladesh are gaining strength. Election propaganda cannot hide this fact. Yet there is hope because the current polarization has not changed [people's] basic outlook. But then efforts are not being made yet to nurture that outlook. We should ask ourselves whether we can shirk our own responsibilities for the problem by blaming others.

INDIA

Devi Lal Speaks at Newsmen's Luncheon

91AS0706A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
21 Feb 91 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 20 Feb—The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Devi Lal, today reiterated his preference for a national government involving all major parties, but categorically denied any plans to join the Congress(I).

Answering questions at a Meet-the-Press luncheon organised by the Press Club of India this afternoon, Mr Devi Lal said, "I want the country to have a stable government and I welcome the proposal of Mr Vasant Sathe and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee for a national government...It is wrong to say that I want to be kingmaker and seek to destabilise governments." He also denied that he had any plans to retire from politics. "Am I a sanyasi that I have to think of a sanyas?" he asked.

Mr Devi Lal, who was uncharacteristically lowkey through most of the hour-long press conference, said in response to a series of related questions that there was "complete understanding between the Prime Minister and Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the government is going to last its full term." Asked if he would support Mr Rajiv Gandhi's bid to form a government, the Deputy Prime Minister said: "That will depend upon the circumstances and those circumstances have not arisen now." He added that his party would make efforts to face the next elections as partners of the Congress(I).

Severely criticising the former Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, the Deputy Prime Minister said there was a case for initiating criminal proceedings against him under section 302 because of the self-immolations on the Mandal issue. "I know I supported V.P. Singh at one stage but I have committed several blunders in my life. He is a traitor and nobody believes him." In a related question on whether he would welcome the former industry minister, Mr Ajit Singh, to his party, Mr Devi Lal said, "Ajit Singh is just another name for unreliability."

Mr Devi Lal appeared at pains to allay any impression that he was planning to wreck the Chandra Shekhar government and said that his recent letters to the Prime Minister did not mean that he was doing a repeat of what he did to Mr V.P. Singh. "Letter writing is an old convention. If governments fell on writing letters, they would fall every day, newspapers carry letters every day."

Asked why he had called Mr Rajiv Gandhi "ignorant" in a recent interview, Mr Devi Lal provoked another round of laughter saying, "Everybody is ignorant in some way or the other. I cannot fly aircraft and Rajiv Gandhi cannot milk goats or go to the fields with a *lota* in the mornings."

He disagreed with suggestions that elections might throw up a more stable government and felt that the result of polls at the moment will again be a hung Parliament. "No party has the following to secure a clear majority today and no purpose would be served by holding polls. Indeed, it will be dangerous if elections are held because there is a lot of instability in society as well."

When asked about the prospects of the Congress(I) in case of elections, he said the party stood "totally discredited."

CNN Antenna for Press Club

The Deputy Prime Minister also announced that he would bear the cost of setting up a Cable News Network (CNN) antenna at the Press Club here, adds PTI. He said he would donate over Rs [rupees] 1.5 lakhs for the purpose.

The announcement was greeted with cheers by the newsmen present at the Press Club. The Deputy Prime Minister was formally thanked by the club president, Mr Sharad Dwivedi.

Questioned as to why the Janata Dal(S) government was taking help from a "discredited party," he said: "It is a political strategy as we cannot depend either on the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] or the Janata Dal as both the parties cannot be trusted."

Asked who could make a better prime minister—Mr Chandra Shekhar or Mr Rajiv Gandhi—Mr Devi Lal said: "Mr Rajiv Gandhi like me is a man of word. There has been an understanding between the Janata Dal(S) and the Congress(I) and Mr Rajiv Gandhi has agreed to continue supporting this government for the full term."

Congress(I) Said Acting Against Its Own Interest

91AS0517A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 16 Jan 91 p 4

[Article by Shivdas Banerjee: "In Supporting Chandra's Government, Congress Is Destroying Its Own Future"] [Text] The Socialist Janata Dal and its two allies, the Congress and AIADMK [All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] were almost expected to be in trouble. When they formed a coalition based on one point, i.e., evading elections, it was understood that problems would arise. The disgruntled Janata Dal members, unable to remove Vishwanath Pratap [Singh], resorted to trickery to avoid elections. And in this they received blessings from the Congress party.

It does not look right for the new government to go about raising money. Hence a group of industrialists and business people are doing it for them. It became clear from the appointment of a man like Chandra Swami to solve the Ayodhya dispute. But does Chandra Shekhar expect that the Congress, which directs him from behind the scenes, will let him be on his own in trying to solve the country's burning problems?

However, he may expect some success in enticing parliamentarians from V.P. Singh's camp by offering them Cabinet posts and relaxing some of the Congress's suffocating regulations. But so far he has not been able to do either. He has missed another opportunity to put together an alternative force to the Congress. He did not acquire prime ministership from the people's verdict. He does not have a manifesto or declared administrative policy. Hence he had to resort to other political means.

An easy way to do so is to depend on administrative measures; in other words, to hire and transfer bureaucrats at will.

Thus, politics has taken a back seat these days, and the country is being run with the help of the spiritless bureaucracy. It may have serious consequences for the country. The ruling of Lok Sabha Speaker Rabi Roy has deepened the administration's crisis. After that, it may be difficult for the Congress to count on parliamentary-ministers who have lost their seats in Parliament under the party-swapping law. The ax would also have fallen on Chandra Shekhar and Devi Lal if the speaker had not allowed them "the benefit of doubt." It appears to mean now that the issue is not one of principle or policy, but just that some people wanted to grab power at any cost, and their wishes have been fulfilled by the support of the election-wary Congress. The horse trading that used to go on in Haryana has now been legitimized at the national level. Ironically, the party-hopping law that enabled Chandra Shekhar to hang on to power was created by Rajiv Gandhi to prevent desertions from his party. The law served him well. Now the law needs to be changed to facilitate the functioning of the government that has been in office with his support.

Some Socialist Janata MPs [Members of Parliament] rushed to the Delhi High Court to sidestep the speaker. The oath that the government presented also gives priority to the judiciary over the Lok Sabha and its speaker. As [Indian] democracy is based on parliamentary supremacy, such conduct is a serious departure from the convention. The administration's motive becomes clear when it says that such disputes should be resolved not by the speaker, but by the president. Prior to that the law minister, Subrahmanyam Swami, had threatened to have the speaker arrested for which he [Swami] was compelled to apologize. Chandra Shekhar has, however, announced that his government does not want to harm the speaker's prestige. But nobody will be willing to give him or his ally, the Congress, "the benefit of doubt" in this respect. It is hard to believe that Chandra Shekhar was unaware of the activities of his colleague, Subrahmanyam Swami.

How did the Congress react to all this? [It would] if necessary, help adopt the party desertion amendment introduced by Subrahmanyam Swami; in other words, on the question of changing parties, the president's mediation will be chosen instead of the speaker's. In this context, one may recall the president's role during the unraveling of the Janata government. He had feared that holding elections soon after the "kar seva" at Ayodhya would trigger bloodshed. Hence, in the 500-member Lok Sabha, he called upon a group of 60 to form the government.

The Congress has called for the resignation of the lawmakers who lost membership [of Parliament] according to the speaker's ruling. Chandra Shekhar has of course said that there is no constitutional crisis and ministers will retain their positions. It is difficult to say, though,

how long he can resist the pressure of the Congress. Earlier, the two factions of the Congress and the ADMK pressed him to dismiss the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] government of Tamilnad.

They were planning celebrations, expecting the ouster of ADMK leader Jayalalita Karunanidhi. Hence Chandra Shekhar is in a fix. He is desperate to score some successes. He wants quick success—whether it is over Assam, Punjab, Kashmir, or Ayodhya. Any success can give him some legitimacy and credibility, and members of the Janata Dal and Congress would consider supporting him. But that is not what the Congress or Rajiv Gandhi wants, because Chandra Shekhar's success would make them irrelevant.

In fact, never before were the Congressites found in the fringes of the mainstream of politics as they are now. They can keep cheerful over the negative stance that their leader Rajiv Gandhi has adopted, but ever since the 1989 elections, the party, which is the largest in India, has not taken a meaningful position on any national issue. [They hope] others' failures will drive the public opinion in their favor at the next elections. Or are they still dreaming about luring some Hindu voters away from the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]?

The Congress is hurting its position by supporting the Socialist Janata Dal government. Of course the extent of damage can be gauged at the next elections. This support is costing the Congress its claim that it is the only force for stability. After this, will the public believe such slogans? People close to Gandhi now realize that it is better to have the elections right away instead of delaying them. Otherwise, the party's credibility will erode further.

Interview With BJP Leader Advani

91AS0710A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
14, 15 Feb 91 p 6

[Interview with BJP leader L.K. Advani by Manini Chatterjee; date and place not given; quotation marks as published]

[14 Feb p 6]

[Text] In a long and rambling conversation the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader defended his rathayatra and spoke at length on his pet theme of "pseudo-secularism."

Question: How does it feel to have launched, in your own words, the biggest mass movement in history? What is the future of the movement?

Answer: When I spoke about the biggest mass movement in history, I was thinking in terms of the entire Ayodhya movement and not only the rathayatra and this is something which I cannot claim to have launched. I may have

contributed something, my party has certainly contributed something, but the movement has been launched by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and its associates.

Q: Well, what do you feel about your own contribution?

A: I feel satisfied that I have done my bit and I have been able to contribute in a meaningful and effective manner. And that the BJP's participation in the movement has affected the course of events very substantially.

Q: You mean the fall of the government....

A: Everything—the kind of debate that has been precipitated, the kind of impact that has been created, plus of course the fall of the government.

Q: What kind of debate have you generated?

A: On nationalism, on secularism, which we had been trying to provoke for a long time but the effect was always marginal.

Q: In your speeches, you have always attacked what you call the pseudo-secular parties. But do you think that at the ground level of this movement, not just the Bajrang Dal but even the rank and file of the BJP are motivated by an anti-Muslim feeling?

A: You should always have that kind of thing. All the reformers who sought to ameliorate the conditions of the Scheduled Castes did it in a very positive manner and contributed substantially but it is also true that very often at the level of the masses, among the Harijans themselves, this touched off feelings of anti-Brahminism. But that was not the intention or the contribution of those who were concerned with the welfare of the Scheduled Castes.

Q: So in this case what are you concerned with—the minorities, or the Hindus or....

A: I am concerned with a positive cause of genuine nationalism, of genuine secularism. But you have fall-outs of this nature (anti-Muslim feelings etc.).

Q: But even at the Jaipur session, while you and Mr Vajpayee were talking of nationalism and national identity, as you put it, the delegates were more taken up with the issue of Ram. There was more religious passion than political understanding.

A: At various levels you will have various responses, various motivations. All that is needed is that those who are at the helm of affairs should be clear in their minds as to what they want. After all, there was nothing really bad about the slogan "*Jo Hindu hit ki baat karega, wahi desh ka raj karega*" (Those who take up Hindu interests alone will rule this country). It was not in any way an offensive slogan. But I tried to correct it by giving a comprehensive and holistic perspective. (Note: Mr Advani had asked them to use the slogan "*Jo rashtriya hit ka baat karega...*")

Q: How confident are you that you can channelise this movement into something which you consider positive?

A: Someone pointed that out to me the first day, I corrected the slogan. On the second day, when a person started the same slogan, he himself stopped halfway.

Q: We noticed that but my question is, you could make them change the words of the slogan but how far can you change the feeling that motivated the first slogan?

A: That is all that I could do. I cannot do more...

Q: Even during the rathayatra, there were slogans like "Babar ke aulad" and "Tel lagao dabur ka, nam mitao Babar ka" and similar slogans throughout..."

A: Kahan the (where were these slogans uttered)?

Q: Even in Delhi, half-an-hour before your rath arrived and in the wake of your rath, and in Bihar too we heard such slogans.

A: *Bahut kam. Idhar, udhar honge* (very few. One or two stray slogans, perhaps). In such a big mass movement, if you highlight these stray aspects, you are not doing justice to the movement. I regard it as most significant that in Ayodhya itself, no one touched the other 35 mosques.

Q: Last year, too, Ayodhya elected a communist MP [Member of Parliament].

A: That is a different matter. What I am saying is here was a situation where lakhs of people, very passionate, very devoted, very committed to this cause, descend on one small town and nothing happens. What does it show—that basically there is no anti-Muslim mood, there is no anti-mosque mood.

Q: But that was partly because Mulayam Singh Yadav was standing up on behalf of the minorities and he was the target.

A: To that extent we have succeeded. I regard these political parties and the Mulayam Singhs as the real persons against whom we are battling. We are not battling against the Muslims. Ayodhya is the proof.

Q: You have often talked of the Ram Janmabhoomi temple as a symbol of a greater battle. What is that battle?

A: I am fighting against the attitude of politicians and political parties to anything that is associated with Hindus, their allergy to it and their idea that if you cherish this allergy, only then your secular credentials are proved.

Q: You have said this often but in what way have Hindus suffered in this country or been treated as second class citizens?

A: How do you explain the total apathy to the pulling down of temples in Kashmir? In 1986, 55 temples were

destroyed in Anantnag. Last year, too, temples were gutted. Why is it that all political parties, Hindus in general, and the media, are indifferent to it.

Q: The BJP did not make much of an issue of it either.

A: I have been saying it.

Q: But this case of 55 temples in 1986. The BJP did not make it a big issue till the Ayodhya question came up.

A: At that time we sent three delegations, we held a press conference here. No one else did. But now every nationalist and secularist is raising an outcry over the fate of one single, 500-year-old mosque. How do you explain this?

Q: In the case of Kashmir, those who are burning down temples are regarded as anti-national, as secessionists, as militants....

A: The militants came just now, the secessionists came just now, I am talking of 1987. And I am not talking of what they did, I am talking of the reaction in the country and the contrast this presents to the attitude of all the political leaders and the political elite to the Babri Masjid.

Q: But the real issue is that everyone agrees that a negotiated settlement or the judiciary must decide, while you insist that faith is above law.

A: I have not said faith is above law. I have only spoken of faith if you want to refer the question of whether Ram was born there or not to a court of law. But so far as the place is concerned, the government has the right to acquire the place.

Q: But till such time that a decision is taken, why launch a mass movement to defy the law?

A: The movement is intended to pressurise the government. The movement is not to bring down the mosque. If they wanted they could have destroyed the whole thing that very day (30 October).

Q: Going beyond the symbolism question, you feel secularism has come to mean anti-Hinduism. Apart from the isolated example of Kashmir, in what way have Hindus, as citizens of the state, suffered in this country?

A: On the other hand, I have said political parties have not concerned themselves with the economic and educational backwardness of the Muslims. So appeasement has not helped the Muslims, appeasement has only been a way to get electoral dividends by the political parties. Therefore, they will all talk of Babri Masjid, they will all talk of Urdu but not of the welfare of the Muslims. They are not concerned.

Q: The same charge can be made against the politics of the BJP in the past few years—that you are practising pseudo-Hinduism in order to consolidate Hindus into a vote bank.

A: I am not talking of the welfare of the Hindus. The BJP's policies and programmes and performance in government is intended to provide welfare to all sections irrespective of their religion. So far as Muslims are concerned, my approach to them would be the same.

Q: I am talking about your approach to Hindus. You agree that Hindus do not really face problems in this country. But the reason large sections are becoming pro-BJP because of the Ram Janmabhoomi campaign is that Hindus have begun to feel that they are having a bad deal in this country when the truth is that they are not.

A: Everyone is having a bad deal in this country.

Q: Everyone, but not because they are Hindus....

A: But to the extent that Hindus cannot have institutions of their own where they can impart their own religious teaching (this is a provision of the Constitution which I would like to change), to the extent that Article 370 in Kashmir is being defended on the grounds that it is a Muslim majority state, to the extent that side by side you have the case of "Riddles of Rama" and the "Satanic Verses" and the government's response is in marked contrast...these are instances where the government puts a premium on belonging to a minority. Even VP's announcement of Prophet Mohammad's birthday as a holiday. And so the whole attitude has come to focus on the Ram Janmabhoomi issue and it has become for the Hindus a kind of a touchstone. And we have contributed in making it a touchstone.

Why is it that political parties are silent about a uniform civil code.

Q: But all reforms come from within the society. In the case of Hindu society, most of the reformers were Hindus. If Syed Ahmad Khan had spoken in favour of widow remarriage, Hindus may not have accepted it.

A: I understand. But what is 'from within'? For instance, in the case of sati if you were to ask the communities to which the practice is confined, they would say no (to a ban on it). But the country as a whole thinks it is wrong. In the case of Muslims, you are giving them a feeling of seclusion. No political party even thinks that a uniform law is necessary, everyone is reconciled to the fact that Muslims are not ready for it.

Q: But when the BJP asks for reforms in Muslim law, the motives are questionable in the eyes of the minorities?

A: Therefore I am not quarrelling with the Muslims even on this issue. I am quarrelling with the political parties who are Hindu but may not have the image that Muslims have about me. Why do they not ask for it. This is characteristic. And I have picked up an issue which is a symbol of all that these parties have been doing for 40 years, a symbol which gives me immense support from the people.

Q: But not for the reasons that you have outlined.

A: I know that.

Q: But is that not dangerous, if 80 percent of the people who have joined the movement are not motivated by the sentiment of "genuine secularism"?

A: They are doing it out of their own sentiment. They are not concerned with Muslims. But my own approach is that I regard it as a part of my crusade against pseudo-secularism. And this issue gives me great leverage and access to sections who are uninfluenced by purely religious matters. The religiously inclined will be keen to have a Rama temple there because it is a temple. But a large section, particularly among the younger generation, have supported the BJP because they endorse my view that the hostility of political parties to the Ram Janmabhoomi temple is a manifestation of their pseudo-secularism.

Q: But you have just said that the biggest sufferers of this pseudo-secularism are the minorities themselves.

A: My stand is that the biggest damage pseudo-secularism inflicts is on national unity and also greatly damages the minorities. That has been my formulation all along.

Q: But it does not really harm the Hindus?

A: It harms national unity. It harms the Hindus to the extent that it makes them react in a manner in which I would not like them to react.

Q: When you say it harms national unity, you mean that Muslims harbour a sense of separateness which harms national unity?

A: If I may explain it in a different way, I would say if Sardar Patel's approach to these problems had been there for 40 years, riots may have been a thing of the past.

Q: What exactly was his approach?

A: (His approach was) that this is broadly a Hindu country and the tendency to shy away from Hindu feeling is not secularism. Take the case of Somnath, something like that could not have happened now. Some might say it was the aftermath of Partition and therefore it (the reconstruction of Somnath) took place. I would say no. It was because of Patel. Nehru did not like it even then.

Q: You seem to feel that the only threat to national unity comes from the minorities' feeling of separateness whereas there are so many other problems.

A: I know there are other problems but I am focussing on this because it led to Partition. There have been so many threats to national unity even before 1947 but it was this particular factor which contributed to the partitioning of the country. And unless we are clear about this and there is a broad consensus in the country that we should not

shy away from the fact that this is essentially a Hindu country (the problem will persist).

[15 Feb p 6]

[Text] Q: How do you deal with demands for 'Khalistan,' for an independent Kashmir where the Hindus are not the majority?

A: These demands are because of pseudo-secularism. Otherwise these demands would not have been there.

Q: But today when you claim India is essentially a Hindu country is it not more a divisive slogan than a slogan of unity?

A: I do not agree.

Q: How do you propose to solve the problems in Punjab and Kashmir through this symbolic campaign for the Ram Janmabhoomi?

A: I do not relate these at all. It is being related because of the other political parties' condemnation of the BJP's viewpoint. Otherwise what Mann is saying no one would ever say, that 'Khalistan' is justified because of the BJP's approach. This is the perversity of it.

Q: The BJP increasingly seems to reject the view, the Nehruvian view as you call it, that India represents unity in diversity.

A: No, it remains unity in diversity. Certainly. But the unity is provided by what? Indianness, certainly, in which there is a Muslim ingredient and a Christian ingredient which has gathered over the centuries but essentially it is Hindu. It is only in India that people talk of a composite culture. Otherwise, every culture is composite. And the more ancient the nation, the more composite the culture. But, as Donald Eugene Smith says in his book, in India people talk of a composite culture only to minimise the essential component of it, namely the Hindu culture. They do it deliberately.

Q: But Hindu society itself has been so fragmented.

A: Yes, but in spite of the fragmentation there is a unity which I regard as a cultural unity.

Q: But instead of uniting Hindu society on positive lines, the BJP and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] are trying to do that by pointing out the other, which is the Muslim. The point is, even if India had been a 100 percent Hindu country, which it might well have been, would it have been a problem-free society?

A: No. The problems are there and they have to be tackled....

Q: But on the first day of your rathayatra in Somnath, you had said there were lots of problems before the country including poverty, unemployment, disease. You went on to say that if the campaign for the Ram Janmabhoomi temple succeeds, these problems would be solved too. How?

A: To the extent that we have felt that the weakening of the feeling of nationalism and patriotism have also been contributory factors to our failure on various fronts.

Q: How do you define patriotism?

A: The concern for the country as a whole, the concern for society as a whole. The sense of contributing in a selfless manner and sacrificing for the country in which the dynamism is provided by some kind of idealism and Hinduism is a sub-stratum for that.

Q: There are thousands of Hindus including many politicians in various parties who are not quite motivated by this selflessness that you talk about.

A: Oh, you have all kinds. Hinduism is not a panacea.

Q: But the implicit judgment that you are passing is that, automatically, by the very fact of being born a Hindu, a person is somehow more patriotic than a non-Hindu.

A: Not really. That is not my intention.

Q: But that is what gets conveyed. For instance, one of the problems we face is that of brain drain. Every year, some of the best educated Indians leave for the West and if you check the list, coincidentally perhaps, they are mostly Hindus. The BJP keeps talking of being a supreme nationalist party but you have never launched a movement on this issue or focussed on it...

A: Some of my units have been doing it. Not as a campaign but the broad approach has been to that end.

Q: You keep attacking the political parties, but how have Hindus been discriminated against in independent India? In what way can they be called second class citizens?

A: It (the perception) is not true. I do not call them second class citizens. I have never used the phrase.

Q: But you have done nothing to tell them it is not true.

A: People do feel that though they may not be second class citizens, if they had not been Hindus, if they had belonged to a minority group, they would certainly be "one plus" class citizens.

Q: The facts do not bear this out. Do you not think it is much more difficult to get on in life in India if one is born in a minority community?

A: Not at all. Not so far as the government is concerned. The government would put a premium on belonging to a minority.

Q: When Hindus are not really second class citizens but you allow the majority community to suffer from a minority complex, is there not a danger of fascism?

A: That is what I am saying. You must be conscious of the fact that the state by its activities, the political parties by their attitudes are putting a premium on belonging to a minority, a situation which is creating an unhealthy

reaction in the Hindus who feel they are being treated as second class citizens. If this is the feeling that you allow to get about, then you are jeopardising secularism whereas what the BJP is trying to do is to guarantee security to the secular Constitution.

Q: This may be your personal view but how far are your party and its affiliates dedicated to secularism?

A: (laughs) I am supposed to be more communal than my party these days.

Q: You do not have any regrets about the rathayatra?

A: Not at all. Why should I have regrets about it?

Q: For having whipped up passions which may be difficult to contain.

A: I have contained them. I have seen it with my own eyes in the last three months. If I feel sorry for anything it is that despite my earnest efforts to project it in the right manner, I have been misunderstood by a section. And I cannot attribute the misunderstanding to anything else excepting that any deviation from the Nehruvian model is supposed to be heresy. No one takes any notice of the fact that nothing happened in Ayodhya. Even riots would not have taken place if my rathayatra had not been stopped, if the campaign had not gone on (against the rathayatra).

Q: But riots took place all over UP [Uttar Pradesh], in other parts of the country.

A: But not because of the rathayatra, because of Mulayam's campaign.

Q: With the publicity your rathayatra got, it had an effect all over the country and not just where it actually passed.

A: It got adverse publicity. Everyone wrote against it.

Q: The UP Press was very supportive and most of the riots took place in UP. You are only talking of the English Press which was not favourable.

A: English and Urdu. The Urdu Press has done a lot of damage.

Q: But when you make statements that India is essentially a Hindu country, it does inject a certain amount of fear in the minorities. Besides, do you not think your campaign is also affecting the essence of Hinduism which is not a monolithic, or aggressive religion?

A: No, I do not think so.

Q: Coming to the present political scene, do you think any party will win enough seats to form the government on its own in the next elections?

A: I cannot say today. But I am not pessimistic about the possibilities of the BJP forming the government.

Q: If the BJP gets a fairly large number of seats but falls short of majority, will you try for a coalition government?

A: I do not know anything. It is too difficult to pronounce on these matters today.

Q: If the BJP comes to power, now or later, how would you be different from all previous governments which have ruled India? You are constantly talking of an alternative political culture but what would that mean in terms of economic, social, cultural policies?

A: When we talk of a different political culture, we are talking essentially of behavioural patterns. Not in terms of policies except what has already been spelt out and where many things would depend on the majority that the BJP gets.

Q: I am talking about a situation where you do gain a majority. What will be your policies? Sanskrit, I suppose, will be compulsory.

A: (laughs) Maybe. Things like that.

Q: You have often compared the BJP of today to the Congress before Independence. Do you want the BJP to become an umbrella party of the Centre rather than a district party of the right?

A: The Congress was different in the sense that prior to 1947, it did not have to govern and various strands of opinion ranging from the Muslim League to the Hindu Mahasabha, from the Swatantra Party to the communists, all were under that umbrella because it was essentially a platform to fight for India's independence. Gandhiji did influence the Congress Party's thinking but the government after 1947 was influenced more by Nehru's thinking. Decisions taken in the first two or three years had a lot of contribution from the other school. But not after 1950. So if one were to compare with the Congress of those days, it would be the Congress of the other school.

Q: And your goal remains Hindu Rashtra?

A: Hindu Rashtra is not a goal, it is an assessment of India. Those who think that the BJP will one day come to power and declare a Hindu Rashtra are totally mistaken about the BJP. Hindu Rashtra means nothing but what we have already.

Q: So then what is wrong with it?

A: The wrong is that the government does not realise it. We would like the government to realise it.

Q: And if you form the government, your policies will reflect it?

A: Yes, it will. As you said, Sanskrit will be compulsory.

Q: You keep talking of the BJP's distinct approach. Apart from the stand on Kashmir and Ayodhya, what is

your alternate vision for India? You are not spelling out what it would mean when you are in power.

A: *Poor* blueprint *doonga*, *abhi to main direction hi bata rahan hoon*. Blueprint *poora hoga*, *iski phikar mat kariye* (I will give a complete blueprint, I am only talking about the direction now. Do not worry, there will be a complete blueprint).

Editorial Praises Shekhar's Efforts on Kashmir

91AS0517B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 5 Jan 91 p 4

[Editorial: "A New Effort in Kashmir"]

[Text] The central government is taking a new initiative on Jammu and Kashmir. For days Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar has been discussing the Kashmir issue at different levels. The Kashmir governor, too, is sounding out one person after another on the subject. The purpose is to introduce an alternative political process in Kashmir.

What has been happening in that frontier state for the past one year can rightly be called a civil war. The valley became a virtual battlefield for secessionists backed by Pakistan and the public on the one side, and the police, paramilitary, and army troops on the other. Between the combatants, the innocent people agonized in great distress.

Gradually, the situation has improved because of administrative changes in the state, selective raids in the fighters' camps instead of indiscriminate repression by army troops, and because of the surrender of an increasing number of fighters. Certainly, the people of the valley feel they have had enough of shooting, smoke, curfew, and unusual living conditions and are anxious for peace. The fighters have realized that Pakistan cannot detach the valley from India through warfare, and so they have let up on their anti-Indian movement. Because of all this, the situation in the valley is different from what it was under Governor Jagmohan; it has become largely favorable for the restoration of the normal political process. The Chandra Shekhar government is trying to make use of this opportunity.

Already, the term of the Kashmir governor is about to expire. Maybe his rule needs to be extended for another period. But to make sure that this would be the last extension of the governor's rule, the political process should be initiated right now. There are two opinions about this. One is to revive the old Kashmir legislature and transfer power to the old government. The other is to continue the governor's rule and allow political parties and groups to hold rallies and meetings so a representative government can be created through elections. It is hard to say which of the alternatives will be accepted by the center.

However, there is no doubt that the time has come to activate the state's political parties and groups. Governor Girish Saxena shares this view, and to this end, he already has started discussions with the state's politicians. Perhaps all parties will hesitate and waver. That is natural. Having been left out of the valley's political life for a year, the politicians likely will initially have inhibitions. Besides, anti-Indian terrorism, though diminished, has not been eliminated from the valley. Hence, there may be a problem in launching free political activities. The governor has, however, ensured security measures; politicians engaged in forming public opinion will be provided with armed guards. However, serving people through politics entails some risks.

On the question of political activity, Dr. Faruq Abdullah's National Conference and the Congress(I) party are doubtless important forces. But they are not the only forces. During the past few years, the Muslim United Front and Awami Action Committee have emerged as distinct organizations alongside the old parties. Just because they are opposed to Dr. Abdullah or the Congress, their strengths cannot be discounted. Besides, if the patrons of the extremists wish to participate in the democratic process, there is no reason they should be denied the opportunity. Certainly, during the past year they have established a following among the public. Also, if the government can talk with extremists in Punjab, it cannot, in principle, deny the Kashmiri fighters access to the political process. Any group that is committed to the constitution, national sovereignty, and peaceful political process must be welcome. Gov. Saxena has shown commendable flexibility in this respect. Any attempt to restore the former ruling groups to power is bound to have serious consequences. In Kashmir, great changes have occurred on the standing and following of old political parties. To face the present situation on the basis of the old political culture and priorities likely will produce trouble. What is needed is not just a new initiative, but a new outlook. The Chandra Shekhar government has that outlook. The question is whether he [Shekhar] will succeed.

Analyst Reexamines Foundations of Secularism

91AS0602A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 3 Feb 91 p 5

[Article by Shekhar Bandhopadhyay: "Religion, Communalism, and Secularism"]

[Text] The communal [relating to religious communities] hatred and mistrust that have been vitiating the country for years prompted some people to suggest that historians have a social duty about it. The argument has gained special weight because the [communal] controversy centers on a historical monument.

Not that historians have kept silent on the issue. Recently, the Indian History Congress held its 51st session in Calcutta and adopted two key resolutions. The first voiced concern over the spread of communal

hatred. It stressed the need for a scientific interpretation of history. And it said the History Congress will join hands with other similar organizations to take all necessary steps to resist communalism. The second resolution is stronger. It condemned the propensity to convert a centuries-old place of worship of one religious community into a shrine for another. And it demanded that such places of worship be declared historical monuments. That resolution had first been adopted at the 1986 Srinagar [History] Congress and was renewed at the 1989 Goa Congress. It had to be reconstructed this year in view of the mosque-temple controversy.

The subject has been raised to focus on a particular event. For five years the organization of professional historians has been adopting resolutions on a particular symbol in an attempt to combat communalism. Yet communal hatred and the consequent tensions have increased during those five years. The historians argue that if all such controversial places of worship were declared historical monuments, as they had suggested, the crisis could have been averted. And there is a law in the country that allows such a course of action. Maybe the problem could have been avoided in other ways. But we know that none of those avenues were explored. The reason: Those who had the power and responsibility to solve the problem kept it unresolved to serve their narrow self-interest. So 40 years after India was declared a secular democratic state, communal animosity remains a major problem for us. All of us need to ponder its causes. From that angle, the Indian History Congress has doubtless performed certain duties. Yet in light of experiences from the past five years, it should be noted that mere passing of resolutions does not end responsibilities.

The real task before historians is to present to the people outside the professional circles—in the people's own language—the history of the evolution of communal politics and its scientific explanation. The good news is that this History Congress has drawn historians' attention to this aspect.

Of course we have so far received different explanations of communalism in India. It is natural to have differences of opinion on the question of cultivating knowledge—perhaps that is the sign of life. What is important, though, is to keep people outside the esoteric professional circles informed of this debate. Here we discuss very briefly the main threads of this debate.

Some historians suggest that communalism is the brainchild of some self-seeking people in the upper echelons of society, which began in the age of the Upanishads.

Certain historians believe the problem stems from the competition among leaders of Indian society for power and opportunities. In the colonial period opportunities increased, competition stiffened, and the communal divide deepened. These leaders claimed to represent their communities and presented their own interests in the cloak of their communities' interests. The reason public support could be mobilized behind communal

politics, according to some, is the religious sensitivities of the Indian people. Hence an impression was created that each community is monolithic and everybody in it has the same interest. The colonial government fostered such an impression to serve its political ends. Communal leaders happily accepted it. Even mainstream nationalist leaders were not impervious to its influence. Later this notion crept into discourses on history. Many historians began to dwell on concepts such as "Hindu interest," "Muslim interest," clashes between the two interests and their causes, and so forth.

On the opposite side of this kind of reasoning is a body of opinion that, while admitting cultural divisions in Indian society, does not recognize separate interests of different communities. Interests, according to this school, really are based on classes, or in colonial situations, on nationalities, and only social classes or nationalities can have concrete existence. According to this theory, the communal ideology grew out of a failure to comprehend or explain the new socioeconomic realities of the colonial period. As result, the clash with the colonial power exacerbated the communal cleavage and hatred leading to the partition of the country, instead of speeding nation-building. This theory suggests that class, i.e., the petty bourgeoisie, is the social foundation of communal ideology. In the colonial period, when Indians faced dwindling economic opportunities, they began talking about community-based allocation [of jobs, legislative seats, etc.]. And yet, they could not understand the simple truth that the decline of opportunities resulted from colonial exploitation, not from communal competition. As the middle class gradually expanded from towns to villages, the communal ideology spread further. Along with this, as politics became people-oriented, communal parties demanded legislative representation along communal lines to suit their interests. Its ultimate result was the partition of the country.

Along with this important theory of Indian communalism, an old explanation comes to mind. According to this explanation, community and class are synonymous. Hence, communal confrontation or strife can be traced to class struggle.

Material interest and competition certainly played an important role in the inception and spread of communal politics. Yet this ideology cannot be properly understood without considering culture, mentality, and consciousness. To dismiss these as "false consciousness" is to limit our understanding [of communalism]. And that would hamper the quest for a solution to the problem.

On the other hand, another group of historians recently have characterized communal consciousness as the low form of consciousness. They think communalism is a malaise and its cure is secularism. This notion has been imposed by the state, and it is embedded in the character of the Indian state. To understand communalism correctly, we should therefore look outside this state-imposed definition. It should be remembered that politics have two levels. One is the organized politics at the

upper level. The other is the unorganized lower-level politics. For the lower-level unorganized people, communal consciousness was so innate and natural they could not distinguish between "communal" and "secular" activities. A peasant's social and economic status was determined by his station in a community. Religion absorbed his mind so much that his political activity also centered on religious symbols or expressed itself in religious terms. Because of this consciousness, Muslim peasants considered Muslim zamindars [landed estate owners], however oppressive, members of their own community. And yet, for them, Hindu zamindars were the oppressors. Elsewhere, lower-caste Hindu peasants joined higher-caste Hindu zamindars to protect religious symbols. This side of peasants' consciousness is important to note because even those who explored an ideology for a peasants' armed struggle gave religious and communal consciousness more weight than property relations and the conflict arising from them. On the other hand, among urban industrial workers, communal consciousness has been more conspicuous than class consciousness.

This theory that lower-level communalism is a natural phenomenon has been so widely written about and talked about that it appears to be giving a sense of legitimacy to communalism. This notion is canceling out another point made by these historians. They have mentioned a discrepancy between the lower-level communal sentiment and the upper-level communal politics. These [upper-level] politicians use lower-level communalism to grab power. However, they do not always succeed in controlling lower-level movement to serve their own interest. On many occasions, upper-level politicians have to change their communal political policies under pressures from lower levels. Also, in places alliances between lower-level peasants and higher-level zamindars against other communities did not eliminate the conflict of interest between them. Instances such as these were seen in the Bhojpuri area toward the end of the last and beginning of this century. On the other hand, while rifts occurred along communal lines among lower castes, the communities also realized the need for intercommunal harmony, and there have been instances of intercommunal cooperation for the sake of class interest. However, these kinds of communal relations are different from the upper-level communal politics, even though the two levels maintained occasional contacts, and the upper level took advantage of events in the lower level and strengthened its position.

Now if we leave the past and look into the present, we will notice that some upper-level politicians are taking advantage of the religious and communal susceptibilities of the common people. A symbol is assumed to represent a community's pride in an effort to strengthen that community's solidarity.

In the early phase of the colonial rule, Western demographers discovered the communal divide while analyzing colonial society from the standpoint of administrative convenience. Hindus and Muslims [according to them]

are two different societies, with different faiths, customs, mores, cultures, and traditions. They failed to see the time-honored interaction between the two societies at the lower levels. This theory was also reflected in the writing of oriental Indologists. Then the bureaucrats created misleading communal stereotypes. Through censuses, attempts were made to determine the shapes of the communities. Even though the Indian census followed the British census, the two differed in significant ways. In Britain, census mentioned religion only once. In India, religion was considered the basis of Indian social organization. Statistics were used to determine the population of religious communities, their economic conditions, educational levels, geographic spread, and so on. The relative conditions of the communities were revealed. Not just that, certain communities received the recognition of their distinctiveness. In Punjab, although the first census listed the Sikhs as part of Hindu society, the third census showed them as a distinct community. This way, the colonial power created a principle of segregation that underlied all its policies and led to the division of the country.

Naturally, the Indian nationalist movement had to be based on an alternative theory, which forms the basis of the Indian state. That theory does not deny the existence of different groups or communities. It calls for the subordination of communal or class interest to the national interest. Communal identity is considered one of man's various identities. His other identities derive from his family, village, nationality, language, creed, class, and, above all, his nation. Circumstances bring one or the other of these identities to the forefront. Appropriately, the Indian nationalist movement emphasized the national identity of the multi-community Indians. Consequently, the Indian nation-state exists on that identity. That does not mean that Indians have ceased to have their other identities. The communal problem can never be solved by refusing to acknowledge the existence of the communities, or by ignoring Indians' religions. Neither is that desirable. People's material interests are mixed with their cultural aspirations, which are part of their identities. In a society divided manifold, the state's duty is to reconcile people's competing, and sometimes conflicting, aspirations. To do that, national identity should be the uppermost. It can be asked how successful the Indian state has been in the performance of this role. We should remember that the future of our state depends on the implementation of this course of action. We should acknowledge that despite the recognition of the different communities, communalism is a sickness that is hurting the foundation of our state. A failure to accept this would strengthen the hands of communal politicians.

PAKISTAN

Beg Attacked on Pro-Iraqi Statements

91AS0527A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 4 Dec 90
p 2

[Editorial: Defense Capability: Promises and Needs"]

[Text] General Mirza Aslam Beg, commander of the army, said, "Pakistan has a large stockpile of ammunition and bombs and there is nothing to worry about. We can fight a war for a long time without any external help." General Beg's assurance is welcome news. Pakistan's defense is not weak and we can defend ourselves without going out for help. Pakistani army had plenty of time to make itself strong and organized after the 1971 war. During the Afghanistan war, defense capability of the Pakistani Army was strengthened. Military exercises under the name of Operation Momin were carried out to test this new capability. Defense strategies change with time and it is not possible to be satisfied and ignore new developments. A country like Pakistan has to be on its guard all the time and its defense forces must continuously try to improve their defense capabilities. It is Pakistan's bad luck that it has to deal with a tricky enemy like India which basically has never accepted the existence of Pakistan. India did not hesitate to use military force to harm Pakistan and succeeded in dividing Pakistan into two parts in 1971. In 1984, it forcibly took over Siachin Glacier and it carried out military exercise under the code name of Brass Tax for military action on Sindh in 1986. It is waiting for the right time now. The situation in East Punjab and the occupied Kashmir has given India an excuse. The danger is that it might attack Pakistan one day just to avoid the problems in these two regions. India is aggressively preparing for war. More than three dozen ordnance factories are working round the clock. India had acquired nuclear capability in the beginning of the 70's and now, according to the CIA director, India is making a hydrogen bomb. India has also been successful in making missiles such as Parithvi, Trishul, Agani, and several others. Some of these missiles can go farther than Pakistan. India's navy has established itself as a power in the Indian Ocean. Its army and air force are third and fourth in the world. These statistics do not mean that we are afraid of India. We should focus on improving our defense capability. Even though IJI has won a historical election, the country lacks unity. No war can be won by the armed forces alone, and when the nation is not behind its defense forces, the results are like the one we had in 1971. May God not show us such a bad day again and guide various faction in the country to end differences, prejudices, and disputes. Our defense forces can be strong only when we have strong foundation in our relations.

The commander of our army had made these comments because of the suspension and possible ban on U.S. aid. A long-range plan to make the country self-dependent and self-supporting is something that everyone welcomes. However, when we are almost into the 21st century, the world is adopting an economy of mutual dependence. May God bless us so we do not have to depend on anyone for anything.

Pakistan has no danger from Afghanistan now. Afghanistan was better off during the 10 years of presence of the Soviet military. Iran and China are the kind of neighbors

that Pakistan should not worry about. Both countries are Pakistan's friends and sincere allies. However, India's ambitions are obvious and we cannot be complacent about it. We had very bitter experiences of wars with India in 1965 and 1971. We had to stop war in 1965 because of scarcity of spare parts and we lost half of Pakistan in 1971 before even firing a bullet. The resources in the remaining Pakistan are much less than there were in the united Pakistan, but the problems are two- and four-fold now. We have to be very careful and know who are our friends and who are our foes. The United States did not help Pakistan in the 1965 and 1971 wars and even now we suspect its intentions. However, regular talks between the two countries about the loans or "aid" will be held next week. Therefore, we should not make any statements that might make the United States change its mind. It has helped Pakistan and the Afghan people for 10 years because of its own interest in stopping the communist advance. Efforts should have been made to remove any problems in our mutual relations. If the United States continues to have a negative attitude even after all our sincere efforts, then Pakistan would be free to follow its own policies. We are emphasizing that our three leaders, the president, the prime minister, and the chief of armed forces, should refrain from making fiery statements. They should let the negotiation team use its skills. Otherwise, they should take majority and opposition political leaders into confidence and use the National Assembly, conferences, and the media to inform the people and mentally prepare them for the hard times ahead.

Mr. Beg also referred to Iraq in his speech under question and said, "A nation's desire to assert itself plays an important role in a war. Annexation of Kuwait is a separate issue. Iraq's desire to assert itself has become a problem for a superpower. If Iraq's military is destroyed, then the next target would be Iran." This statement implies that a responsible leader of Pakistan is praising Iraq's desire to assert itself. Is this statement according to Pakistan's national policy? Forget the United States, we will live without its aid. However, when we send thousands of our soldiers to Saudi Arabia against Iraq and then praise Iraq's desire to assert itself, we could be making an Islamic country like Saudi Arabia very angry. The people and the rulers of Saudi Arabia pray for the safety of Pakistan. We get the impression that Pakistan is changing its policy, however, Pakistan's 100 million people, or at least their elected representatives, should know what is going on. It would be better if the prime minister, elected in the general elections, takes the nation into confidence. The people have given a clear mandate during the recent elections and the same party has established governments at the center in the states. There should be no difference of opinion in this situation. The fact is that Iraq has aggressed into Kuwait and this is a clear breach of international laws. How can a high ranking person in Pakistan praise this feeling? If you want to give examples of feelings to assert itself, we have them spread all over in bloodstained allies in Kashmir. We should focus on these examples only.

Beg Addresses Military Capabilities

91AS0412A Karachi JANG in Urdu 14 Dec 90 p 3

[Speech by General Aslam Beg at the International Seminar on Defense Science and Technology arranged by the Ordinance Factory, Wah]

[Text] Pakistan Ordinance Factories and other local defense factories have played a solid role in increasing defense capabilities. The largest and most prominent organization among them is Pakistan Ordinance Factories, Wah. It consists of 14 different factories under one administration with 40,000 workers. This organization has provided the necessary defense capabilities to the country. It is satisfactory to know that POF (Pakistan Ordinance Factories) have always performed according to the directives given to them. Most of their success can be attributed to the close cooperation among different defense factories. I will mention some of the major objectives of our defense policy which serve as guidelines for POF.

First, the acquisition of such capability that would allow our armed forces, on their own, to deter aggression against us. POF has played an important role in this regard. We do not want war. We are a peace-loving country. War has always been imposed upon us. Our enemy is fully aware of our military capabilities; therefore, he would not even think of attacking us. This strategy is even more effective if there is desire to compete at the national and international levels. It would be wrong to think that the armed forces can fight a war on their own. Defense can succeed only if it has the backing of a whole nation. Today, with the grace of God, Pakistan has a strong government which fully supports its armed forces. It has given a new meaning to cooperation between the armed forces and the government.

The Palestinian struggle for independence (intifadah) and the Kashmiri's resistance movement are best examples of who are fighting for their right of self-determination with stones and sticks. Better results can be achieved if this desire to resist is equipped with arms. The people of Afghanistan fought for eight years. We stood shoulder to shoulder with them. The results are in front of you, one of the world's powerful nations had to accept defeat. It is this desire to resist that, once equipped with weapons, becomes much more powerful. Any nation with this desire to resist must be willing to sacrifice lives for a supreme cause.

It would be difficult for us to try to stop aggression on our own. So, one aim of our policy should be to obtain support from friendly countries. In my opinion, it should not be difficult to cultivate friendship with Iran and Afghanistan. We have a lot in common with them in terms of geographic boundaries, history, and culture. The third aim of our policy is to eliminate aggression. If we are unsuccessful in stopping aggression, then it will be necessary to crush it so that, to some extent, our military objectives will be achieved. We will have to fight a unique type of war to defeat this aggression and design it

in such a way as to achieve our full military objectives. From the very first day of war, it should be decided what is the maximum and minimum advantages that we want to gain from this war. When deciding these objectives we will have to take into account the services provided by the defense industries. In this regard, I am not hesitant to say that Pakistan Ordnance Factories and other defense industries have played a prominent role and have increased Pakistan's defense capabilities. Our armed forces have achieved such military capabilities that they are able to fight a limited duration war without any help.

I have been closely associated with the performance of defense factories which are very helpful to the Pakistan Army. All ammunition and small weapons are provided by them. I am not afraid to state that in the last ten years and, especially the last few years, a "quiet revolution" (original quotation marks) has taken place in the performance of ordinance factories.

The development strategy adopted by the factories is based upon certain fundamental principles. First rule is to achieve self-reliance using indigenous resources. We had to be careful in the manufacturing of ammunition, especially the expensive ammunition that we have to buy from overseas. With the grace of God, we are manufacturing all ammunition used in small and big cannons and tanks. This is the best example of our self-reliance and ability to use indigenous resources. Due to two to three work-shifts at POF, we have the ability to fight a longer war. POF has given us a new pride and confidence.

During the 1965 war, we experienced a sudden suspension in U.S. aid and were left empty-handed. It was a difficult situation and once again we are facing a similar situation. But, we are not worried because POF continues to deliver. We have tanks, cannons, armaments, and all types of ammunition that we may need. We are not worried. We are proud. We have the confidence that we can stand on our own feet. There is no doubt that we will never reject a good offer, we will not say no to a friendly country; but along with this offer we will never accept any orders that are against the interests of the country.

Our next principle is to raise standards. Since we are a poor nation, we cannot afford to buy the best armaments in the world. We will have to rely on whatever we receive. We have a big army which numbers around 500,000. We need vast resources and money to equip it. Therefore, we will have to raise the standards of our products. For example, we have a 106-millimeter RR antitank system. It is an old system that is used by only a few countries in the world. But, it is still our biggest weapon against tanks. We have modified this system and soon we will achieve MILAN-like capabilities in its performance. This project was started a few years ago. About 80 percent of the work has been completed on it. I have established a firing range of 2,000 meters and a penetration target of 700 meters (as published). During experiments, we succeeded in achieving a firing range of

1,500 meters with the ability to penetrate 600 millimeter thickness. Our specialists are trying hard to achieve the established targets.

This modern project will cost US\$500, whereas the MILAN anti-tank guided missile costs US\$50,000; therefore, it could be called a poor man's choice. This is the fundamental strategy behind modernization in the Pakistan army. This is only one of the dozen examples in which we have modified old weapons to obtain advantages of old weaponry.

We have acquired advanced technology for building a huge tank. This tank might not be the best in the world, but surely it would be one of the best. You would be delighted to learn that we have embarked upon a path that no one else has adopted. In the process of modifying old systems, we also manufacture new weapons. We have the technology for the T-59 and now we have acquired the technology to modify the T-69. Next year, God willing, we will install a 125-millimeter cannon on the T-85. By 1993-94 we will be able to build a new P-90 tank. This tank will be built according to our operational needs. In my view, we will not make the same mistakes that others made in this field. We are also working on the idea of "integrated development." Whether it is ammunition or armaments, we are working with the private sector. This relates not only to POF but also includes other armament factories involved in the manufacturing of tanks, armored vehicles, cannons, or ammunition. We have also started producing antitank missiles and our friend China is cooperating with us in this field. Currently, we have been able to utilize Green Arrow Missile technology and are close to developing a missile with a 3,000-meters range. Its performance will be comparable to two II-A (as published).

From this you can conjecture about our abilities to master modern technology in the shortest possible time to develop new weapons.

There are many other similar projects that have been given to different factories. It would not be out of place for me to declare that 1991 will be the year of our success and it should not be surprising for me to reveal that very soon we will successfully test a guided missile with a fully effective firing range of 100 kilometers. We will be able to increase its firing range and capability according to our needs. We acquired this ability with the help of a friendly country. Such cooperation has given our armed forces the ability to resist any enemy.

We have considerable expertise in reverse engineering. Earlier this year we received a projectile that we gave to POF for reverse engineering. Believe me, within a short period of four months, I was given a complete prototype of this complex projectile for experimentation. Surely, you will be hesitant to believe this, but believe it, this was accomplished by some of the people present in this hall. These people are intelligent and skillful.

Only three years ago, we were manufacturing a single kind of ammunition. But, now we are manufacturing

eight different types of ammunition. This was accomplished by utilizing new machines and technology instead of increasing manpower. This ammunition is manufactured in accordance with international standards. It is this thinking and philosophy that they have adopted. I congratulate and thank POF and other similar factories for their performance. It is as a result of these people's excellent performance that I can declare, with pride and confidence, that Pakistan's army is capable of stopping any aggression. The military capabilities that we claim are because of these people. They have not only provided this nation the guarantee for safety, but also given new confidence. I pray for your success and advancement in every field. Whatever we have today is due to your devotion and professionalism in solving problems.

I request the observers from overseas, local scientists, and seminar participants to fully review the needs of our armed forces, POF's capabilities, and our guiding principles. In our efforts to master new technology and raise the standards of our products, we will benefit from your cooperation and guidance. I will be grateful if you could help and guide our people and allow them to benefit from your thoughts.

PPP Played on Inflaming Conflicts

91AS0527D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Jan 91 p 5
[Editorial: "PPP's Regional Mentality"]

[Text] Benazir Bhutto did not only get angry when she lost power, but also showed her and her party's real color. She is encouraging regional strife and the anti-national actions taken during her government are also being exposed. The campaign Mrs. Benazir Bhutto has started to encourage regional strife and to pit states against each other is simply disgraceful. She has unmasked her prejudice by labeling Mian Nawaz Sharief's government "Punjabi gang," and calling Mian Nawaz Sharief the "punjabi prime minister." While it demonstrates Bhutto family's regional prejudice, it also brings to light the fact how much support does the PPP have for a federal government. Mrs. Bhutto and her supporters should not forget that the people had opposed the blackmail tactics of the PPP and defeated it in the last elections. They will oppose its regional politics in the future too. The Punjabis should be aware of the PPP mentality after Benazir's biased propaganda against the Nawaz Sharief government. The eyes of those who still expect the nation to benefit from the PPP or the Bhutto family should be opened by these actions. Pakistan is one country made up of four states. A person from any state can become the prime minister as long as he or she has the support of the people.

The people still remember how Mr. Bhutto had passed a communal bill in Sindh in 1972 and had tried to divide Sindh into two parts. It had hurt Sindh residents. There were many irregularities in the census taken during the PPP government. Karachi has over 10 million population now, however, it was allocated election seats only

for 5.2 million population in the October 1990 elections. The PPP and its supporters are upset that the urban population is beginning to understand the census process and the PPP is opposed to the present census.

After a long time an elected democratic government has been installed in our country. The conditions are improving in the nation and we are moving toward self sufficiency. It is the first time that a leader is refusing foreign aid because of national pride and interests and talking about self sufficiency. The opposition is accusing him of coming from a specific region and calling the prime minister a prime minister without authority. The PPP and its supporters should be realistic and accept the facts. They should give up negative mentality as it will not only help the nation but also the PPP itself.

Failure To Implement Shariat Termed 'Intolerable'

91AS0457B Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu
12 Dec 90 pp 18-21

[Interview with Mian Fazal Haq, Chief Organizer, United Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith by Vakar Malik: "Delays in the Implementation of the Islamic System Will Not Be Tolerated. Saddam Husayn Has Become a Pawn in the Hands of Islam's Enemies. Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith Will Play an Exemplary Role in National Politics"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts]

[Malik] After a long time two large groups of Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith have gathered. But, we still have not seen any revolutionary steps from the Central United Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith. What are the reasons behind it?

[Haq] The main reason is that it has been a short time since we have united. Despite this, we have taken several revolutionary steps. For example, religious schools have become more efficient. A successful Harmain Sharifain Conference was held on 14th October in Islamabad. Recently, our executive committee met in Lahore on 14th November. It has been decided that an All Pakistan Scholar Convention will be held in Lahore at the end of November, at which time we will discuss the implementation of Islam, jihad in Kashmir, the situation in Afghanistan, and our reaction to the war in the Gulf. We also agreed to hold the All Pakistan Ahl-i-Hadith Conference in mid-March under the shadow of Minar-i-Pakistan. At that time, a nationwide recruiting campaign will be started so that Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith can play an exemplary role in national politics. [passage omitted]

[Malik] As a leader of one of the groups within Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, what steps are you taking to make this unity more effective?

[Haq] In the beginning, different committees from both groups tried to solve the organizational differences. But

they did not have any authority. Consequently, a considerable amount of time was consumed in trying to agree on various provisions. Then we decided that the leaders should meet and try to resolve these difference. I contacted the leaders from the other group and, with God's blessings, they showed a genuine interest in it. That is how our blessed union came into being. [passage omitted]

[Malik] After the election victory by the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA), what sort of future do you foresee for the implementation of the Islamic system. Some circles are alleging that the implementation of Islam was just a campaign slogan of IDA and it has nothing to do with reality.

[Haq] This propaganda is launched by anti-Islam elements who do not want to see IDA government succeed. God willing, the implementation of the Islamic system will take place in accordance with the constitution. Under these circumstances, it is imperative that the parliament passes the Shariat bill. And the resolution, which is a part of the 1973 constitution, should be implemented in the light of Koran and Prophet's traditions.

[Malik] If government showed any reluctance, what actions will be taken by the United Central Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith?

[Haq] This is unthinkable. Still, if the implementation of the Islamic system is delayed, the United Central Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith will be the first one to notice, and a nationwide movement against the government will be started. We will lead this movement. [passage omitted]

[Malik] In your opinion, how sincere was late General Zia in implementing Islam in the Country?

[Haq] Personally, he was 100 percent sincere and he also worked for it. But, the step-by-step manner in which he wanted to implement Islam was taking considerable time. Therefore, some people started saying that he was using Islam's name to perpetuate his rule. In fact, he wanted to implement Islam in such a way that people would spontaneously get used to it.

[Malik] But, under his rule, the Shariat bill could not pass through the Senate in three years. Why?

[Haq] The real reason was the Assembly and not General Zia. You will recall that on 29 May 1988, in his speech in which he announced the dissolution of Assemblies, one of the charges laid upon those Assemblies was that they never did anything meaningful for Islam. In his last days, he was anxious to accelerate the implementation of Islam. Alas, he did not live long enough and left his mission unfinished. [passage omitted]

[Malik] In your opinion, what are the effects on the Islamic world of Iraqi aggression against Kuwait?

[Haq] I believe that by attacking Kuwait, Iraq has taken a wrong step and it should be fully condemned. Actually,

in difficult times, Kuwait always came to Iraq's help. But Iraq thinks that it can occupy neighboring Kuwait and squander Kuwait's oil wealth. In my view, the Iraqi attack has done a great damage to Muslim unity. Muslims, who are the world's biggest power, have become each other's enemies because of conspiracy by non-Muslims. It is imperative that Saddam Husayn, instead of becoming a pawn in the hands of anti-Islam forces, keep in mind the effects of such action on the Islamic world. If he does that then definitely a better situation could develop.

[Malik] You have classified the Iraqi attack on Kuwait as a conspiracy by anti-Islam forces. In fact, on the surface, it is a dispute among Muslims. What evidence do you have for this?

[Haq] Sir, this is a conspiracy by Christians and the Communists. If it were not a conspiracy, and Saddam Husayn had any sympathies for the Islamic world, then he would have listened to the Muslims and withdrawn his forces. But he did not do that. It is because he is playing in the hands of Zionist powers and has become a front for imperialism. You have to realize that the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Tarik Aziz, is a Christian. He regularly attends Muslim Foreign Ministers' Conferences and acquires secrets and passes them to anti-Islam powers. But, Saddam Husayn never showed any concern about it. It is clear that he is doing this according to a dangerous plan.

[Malik] How do you perceive the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia? There is a widespread feeling that these troops, like Soviet troops in Afghanistan, will stay there permanently.

[Haq] I disagree. The reason I disagree is that defeat of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan has shown the big powers that, where there is a desire for jihad, then no power in the world would be able to remain. Therefore, Americans would never want to take the risk and stay there permanently. In fact, American forces will leave under the same agreement they were invited in to Saudi Arabia. Now, the desire for jihad has developed in the hearts of the Saudi people. According to one reliable source, ten million troops have gathered there. Besides, our sympathies are with them. God willing, a situation similar to Afghanistan will not develop.

[Malik] Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith is quite active in the Har-main-Sharifain movement. Some circles allege that Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith receives aid from Saudi Arabia; therefore, it has no other alternative.

[Haq] This is nothing more than an accusation that Saudi Arabia is helping us. Actually, Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith's opinion is that the Saudi position as a Muslim country is 100 percent correct. Therefore, it is our desire to help them in any way we can because this is the best jihad in which we are fully participating.

[Malik] In your view, what is the solution for the current crisis in the Gulf?

[Haq] The one and only solution is that Iraq should withdraw its troops from Kuwait and from Saudi Arabia's borders. Also, Iraq must sincerely respect the Kuwaiti government so that such a sad situation would not occur again. Any more delays will cause more damage to the Islamic world.

[Malik] Some circles are not approving the stand of the Pakistani government in the Gulf crisis. They think Pakistan should have stayed neutral. In the past, by declining to join Egypt over the Suez crisis, we lost Egypt's sympathies. Now we are against Iraq. This would mean losing the sympathies of another Muslim country forever. What do you think?

[Haq] I believe the Government of Pakistan's role in the Iraq-Kuwait conflict is realistic. Our neutrality would have meant that we do not condemn the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. Besides, in the past, no other country has helped us as much as Saudi Arabia. The Government of Pakistan has played a correct role. Still, it is our desire that this conflict should be resolved as soon as possible. The only solution to the Iraq-Kuwait conflict is the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait because Iraqi actions have created an atmosphere of insecurity for smaller countries.

JUI Leader Warns Government To Implement Shariat Laws

91AS0527C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 10 Jan 91 p 4

[Article: "Islami Ittehad Cannot Ignore Shariat"]

[Text] Hyderabad (JASARAT correspondent)—Maulana Sher Ahmed Khan, leader of Hyderabad's Jumiat-i Ulema-i Islam (JUI), said that IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] would not be allowed to ignore implementation of Shariat laws. He added that the JUI will be in the forefront to admonish it if the government ignored the Shariat. He went on to say that the JUI created IJI and that JUI's leader, Senator Maulana Samihul Haq, laid the foundation of a joint alliance of all political and religious parties when the PPP started to persecute people and ignore religion. He openly declared that the JUI will establish an alliance against IJI and dethrone it if it did not show interest in implementing the Islamic laws. He further said that he was campaigning to establish a pure Islamic government in Pakistan and that he had no personal or political ambition. He added that he was not working to become a slave of the prime minister or the president and all he wanted was to use the JUI platform to make sure an Islamic government was established in this country. He concluded that all powers in the world will bow to the Great Power. This government must keep its promise to implement Islamic laws or relinquish its chair.

U.S. Aid Inviting Angry Response

91AS0527B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 2 Dec 90 p 10

[Editorial: U.S. Aid Issue Getting Complicated"]

[Text] Prime minister Nawaz Sharief told the NEW YORK TIMES in an interview that, "we are prepared to

face the results if the negotiations over the U.S. aid fail. We cannot accept some of the conditions that the United States has asked. We had thought that the governments of Pakistan and the United States would try to settle the sensitive and very important issue of U.S. aid by serious negotiations. However, the series of statements and counter statements issued by both sides is enough to sabotage the whole negotiation process. The U.S. government, its ambassador, and some senators and congressmen have been issuing negative statements against Pakistan. Just like in a poetic debate, high Pakistani officials consider it their foremost duty to rebut these statements in the same tone. It would have been better if both sides had sat down at a table to discuss all aspects of the issue. However, it did not happen. Both sides can have reasons to support their sides. It is possible, as the prime minister put it, that the United States has added some conditions that Pakistan cannot accept. The truth is that the United States and the whole non-Islamic countries view Pakistan's nuclear development program with suspicion. A dangerous and wicked propaganda is aimed against this so-called "Islamic Bomb." The United States is advising Pakistan to accept India's superiority in South Asia and to formulate its foreign policy accordingly. The United States also wants Pakistan to open its nuclear installations for international review and accept international nuclear safeguards if it is not involved in making nuclear weapons. However, there are contradictions in the U.S. nuclear policy. It is not only ignoring the nuclear programs in Israel, Brazil, India, and Mexico, but also is helping these countries. Israel is one of the two countries that receive most U.S. aid. It has been proved that its nuclear program is not aimed for peaceful uses. If Israel has been given this open permission because it is endangered by its Arab neighbors, then Pakistan has the same reason as it has the danger of India attacking it. According to the latest information, the new Indian government has given Pakistan the ultimatum to move its armed forces behind the Control Line. The honeymoon period between the two new prime ministers is over. Pakistan has to depend on its nuclear program to meet its energy needs and the United States is aware of this fact. However, the United States is still adamant and there is fear that this might harm the old friendship between the two countries. According to the Voice of America, the United States has stopped providing spare parts for F-16 airplanes. This has made all the F-16 airplanes useless for us. The U.S. action is a breach of trade policies. It must be responsible for supplying spare parts for an item it sells. We are worried that such U.S. actions might anger not only Pakistani government but the people too. No power in the world can control the feelings of the people in such a situation. It would be better if both sides show seriousness about this issue and use the whole energy at the negotiation table. The government of Pakistan must take the people into confidence if it has decided to live without the U.S. aid. We have already said that it behooves our government to get all the majority and

opposition politicians in one place and inform them of the results if the U.S. aid is stopped. Then the people should be informed based on the input from this group. The people should be told how to save on valuable foreign exchange spent on imports and how our foreign exchange reserve can be expanded by increasing our exports. The people do not know that the officials themselves have not curtailed their personal and bureaucratic wastage. The government must also do its duty.

U.S. Said Obstructing Aid From Other Sources

91AS0419B Karachi AMN in Urdu 8 Dec 90 p 8

[News item entitled, "America is Trying to Stop Other Countries From Giving Aid to Pakistan: U.S. Pressure on Australia, Canada and Japan to Suspend Aid"]

[Text] Islamabad, 7 December (AMN News): After suspending its economic aid to Pakistan, the United States is pressuring its allies to stop aid to Pakistan. The Gulf crisis and the suspension of U.S. aid have had serious adverse effects on Pakistan's economy and the country's difficulties will increase if the United States should succeed in persuading its major allies Australia, Canada, and Japan to impose economic restrictions on Pakistan.

An English newspaper published in Peshawar has quoted embassy circles in Islamabad as saying that U.S. efforts to stop Japan's aid to Pakistan would not succeed because Japan had refused to bow to U.S. pressure on this issue.

The other day when U.S. ambassador Robert Oakley was asked during an embassy reception about U.S. efforts to isolate Pakistan economically, he replied with an emphatic no and called such reports incorrect and without foundation. He said that there was no need for the United States to pressure other countries to suspend aid to Pakistan; he then referred to Japan's recent agreement to extend aid to Pakistan.

Certain embassy officials attending the reception were of the view that the fact that the U.S. ambassador had noted the aid agreement between Japan and Pakistan showed that the U.S. was keeping a vigilant eye on aid to Pakistan from other countries. When high government sources in Islamabad were asked about U.S. efforts to have aid suspended to Pakistan, they confirmed that the reports were true.

U.S. Seen as Anti-Islamic

91AS0419A Karachi AMN in Urdu 12 Dec 90 p 3

[Article by Jafar Ali Mir entitled, "America Cannot be the Friend of Muslims"]

[Text] The United States and old imperialist Britain are the sources of terrorism and plunder in the world. Rulers who are of satanic character, devoid of intelligence or understanding, who are the agents and gold-bought hereditary slaves of imperialists, do not hesitate to

applaud the massacre of humans by their masters. They regard these upstart, bloodthirsty big powers the pillars of their unconstitutional, unlawfully established rule based on oppression. It is a matter for reflection, not only for the Islamic world in particular, but for all countries in general, that Kaaba, the House of God, and the mausoleum of the prophet Mohammad have become the abode of powers which have been the eternal enemies of Islam.

This sacred land is under siege by Christian and Jewish powers which have already established their rule over Jerusalem. Israel, the illegitimate offspring of these upstart powers, has criminally and illegally occupied Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian, Lebanese, and Syrian lands. Israel spreads its web [of conspiracy] against the Islamic world and continues daily to establish its economic colonies on Muslim lands. Israel's patron, the United States, continues to applaud its actions and, whenever resolutions condemning Israel are brought before the United Nations, the United States vetoes them.

America and its friends, the representatives of Cain, are drunk with power and arrogance as were [the kings of old] Nimrod, Shaddad, and Pharaoh and, like the former kings, want the world to worship them as Gods. America, the standard-bearer of oppression and cruelty, has cut off food and water to the Muslim people of Iraq and is creating difficulties for the third world. The United Nations and other organizations applaud wholeheartedly and fulsomely satanic America and its followers. When America attacked Libya and killed the daughter of that country's president; when America launched an aggressive attack on Iran in Dasht-e Kabir, America was dispatched to hell with its modern planes; when it fired missiles at a passenger aircraft and killed many innocent people; when it broke into the embassies of other countries and seized the president of a country; when it martyred thousands of Hajj pilgrims, had them suffocated in tunnels, introduced the [quota] system in Hajj, and interfered in the affairs of Muslims; in the face of all these actions, the silence of Islamic thinkers has provided support to oppression and tyranny.

No court mulla has ever issued a religious statement against any of these actions.

No matter how much the United States and Britain, in the name of freedom, insult the Koran, the prophet, his family, and his followers; no one protests. They are given facilities on Islamic soil and no restrictions are imposed on them. Such actions are in fact sacrilegious worship of these self-made big powers by idol worshippers who masquerade as Muslims. The media of communication are entirely under the control of Jewish and Christian satanic powers who distort the news to protect their own interests; they give prominence to every anti-Muslim piece of news. Naive and uninformed individuals consider it a matter of pride to believe news emanating from the upstart, progressive, and unthinking countries; these individuals are not ashamed of quoting such anti-Islamic

and unrighteous countries as Russia, Britain, and the United States. The root cause of such behavior is ignorance of Islamic teaching. Turning away from the one and almighty God and seeking support from upstart great powers is in reality idolatry and the worship of Satan. Today, the self-made great powers are the bastions and standard-bearers of idolatry. It is a divine principle to provide those on the side of darkness with ample material facilities and to allow them to do as they please until the appointed time so that they may rely on their strength and utilize all their resources on the side of wrong and spare no effort. But such is Divine power that from the beginning of creation, victory in this world and the next was given to the righteous weak and they have been triumphant. We trust completely in the omnipotence of the one God and are mentally and physically prepared to fight against idolatrous powers.

God willing, the day is not far off when the world will be permanently rid of the cruelty and oppression of world plunderers. God has proclaimed in the holy Koran (in Sura-e Nisa): "God has not created any means by which idolaters will be able to conquer the Muslims."

"Tell those dissenters who prefer to make idolaters rather than the righteous their friends that painful punishment is waiting for them. Do they seek honor among them when honor lies with God alone?"

Rejection of Foreign Pressure Urged

91AS0419D Karachi JANG in Urdu 14 Dec 90 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Aid and Pakistan's Atomic Program"]

[Text] U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Robert Oakley said that U.S. aid to Pakistan was suspended not because of the change of government but because of Pakistan's atomic program. This statement nullifies the charge that certain influential members of the People's Party were involved in the suspension of aid. At the same time, the senior vice president of the World Bank has said that Pakistan's defense expenditures were increasing at a rapid pace, development money was decreasing, and that Pakistan should review its priorities.

President Ghulam Ishaq has pointed out that certain progressive countries had reneged on their promises and agreements in regard to the Karachi atomic plant.

The common factor in all these issues is that Pakistan's defensive strength and atomic program are being eyed with disfavor by the United States, world financial institutions, and progressive countries. But these countries and institutions do not object to atomic preparations by South Africa, India, and Israel. Pakistan has always been in favor of stopping the proliferation of atomic weapons, but in view of India's war preparations and atomic program, Pakistan cannot ignore its own defense. Our situation is such that we are forced to spend more money on our defense. Instead of exerting pressure on Pakistan, the United States, the World Bank, and other countries should force India to end the arms race

in this region and try to succeed rather than fail in inspecting its atomic installations. Pakistan is not in any position to bow to pressure when it comes to its safety and freedom. The government should reject all such pressures and end its apologetic attitude regarding its atomic policy.

JI Leader Urges Expulsion of U.S. Ambassador

91AS0458E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 28 Dec 90 p 8

[Article: "Why India Does Not Look Guilty to Oakley?"]

[Text] Nawabshah, 27 December (JASARAT correspondent)—Mohammed Musahib Ali, leader of Nawabshah district Jamaat-i Islami (JI), said while responding to a statement issued by Sardar Abdul Qayum and criticizing the U.S. ambassador's announcement that it was a sad thing that the United States did not press for a referendum. He asked why were the UN observers visiting Kashmir and not Delhi and Islamabad? Why is the Kashmir issue still on the UN agenda even in 1990? Why is the Kashmir border called the line of control? This delay is what has forced the Kashmiri people to rise up in arms to demand their rights. He added that Indian atrocities have reached their limits and over 4,000 young people have been killed, 20,000 jailed, over a half million became homeless, and 11,000 houses were burned. He went on to say that over 2,000 young girls have been raped and hundreds of children shot. Why does Mr. Oakley not observe all these atrocities, especially when the United States claims itself to be the champion of basic human rights? The leader of Nawabshah's JI said, "Mr. Oakley tells us that Pakistan should not help Kashmir and it was a deplorable statement. India is openly ignoring UN resolutions and Mr. Oakley does not mind at all. Even diplomatic protocol is forgotten and our prime minister is ridiculed that he does not have any time to talk to Oakley. Sometimes, he shamelessly says that he is the viceroy appointed by the United States." Musahib Ali advised the United States to recall Oakley before he is asked to leave Pakistan and to replace him with a serious American who follows diplomatic protocol.

U.S. Conspiring To Destroy Islam

91AS0459B Karachi AMN in Urdu 2 Jan 91 p 6

[Article: "United States' Islamic Allies Will Soon Learn They Are Wrong"]

[Text] Lahore, 1 January (AMN Correspondent)—Sayyed Munir Hussain Gailani, head of political affairs at the Tehriq-i Nifaz-i Fiqah and the additional secretary general of People's Democratic Alliance, said that the United States, by recalling its diplomats from the Gulf countries, has openly demonstrated how a few lives of its diplomats and their families are very important to it. However, it is not ashamed of throwing millions of Muslims living in the Gulf into the burning incinerator of war. He appealed to all Islamic governments and the

Muslims living around the world to try to understand the U.S. actions and beware of making the U.S. imperialists and the Jews the referees to settle minor disputes among the Muslims. This has given the impression to the world that the Muslim countries are not able to settle their own differences and the Jews will have to protect Muslim shrines. Sayyed Munir Hussain Gailani asked all the Muslims in the world, especially Islamic governments including that of Pakistan, why did the United States not play a role in liberating Palestine from the Jews if it was worried about the rights of the Muslims? It has always supported Israeli aggression instead of helping the Muslims and Palestinians. He added that Iraq should leave Kuwait and let the people decide on their own government without any interference from any other power. However, he went on, before that the United States should recall its armed forces from Saudi Arabia. He further said that the United States has conspired to have millions of Muslims fight with each other and destroy Islam by its plans to attack Iraq on 15 January. He warned the Muslims that the Islamic countries that were planning to attack Iraq in support of the United States will learn of their irreparable mistake soon when the U.S. armed forces refuse to leave Saudi Arabia and relinquish its control over the oil wells in the Gulf.

U.S. Said Against National Welfare

91AS0459C Karachi AMN in Urdu 3 Jan 91 p 3

[Editorial: "The Quicksand of Economic Crisis"]

[Text] Pakistan is drowning in the quicksand of a very serious economic crisis and there seem to be no signs of getting out of it in the near future. According to various news reports, the government's foreign exchange reserves are just enough for two weeks. Pakistan's economy has been getting worse for a long time and we had to borrow money just to pay back interest on international loans. However, the present Gulf crisis has aggravated the situation very badly. Pakistan is one of those Third World countries, or rather tops the list, whose economy has been greatly effected by the Gulf crisis. Oil prices have skyrocketed since Iraq entered Kuwait leading to the fear of a war in the Middle East. As a result, Pakistan has to spend a lot of foreign exchange to meet its needs for petroleum and petroleum products. In addition to paying additional costs due to the price increase of petroleum and its products, Pakistan had to suffer an additional loss of about two billion rupees, of which, 1.5 billion rupees were spent in bringing the Pakistanis living in Iraq and Kuwait home. In addition, our foreign exchange was greatly reduced as the Pakistanis living in Iraq and Kuwait used to send about \$300 million to Pakistan annually. This stopped when these Pakistanis returned home. In addition to losing this source of foreign exchange, the Pakistani government has suffered a deficit of \$1,488,000,000 in foreign trade balance. Pakistan also used to export products worth \$100 million to the Gulf annually. This trade has also stopped. To make the situation worse, our ally, the United States of America, also stopped its economic aid

to Pakistan using various excuses. As a friend, it should help us in time of trouble. The stand that the government of Pakistan has taken on this issue does not give us any hope of reinstatement of this aid. The United States has not only stopped its economic aid to Pakistan, it is also pressuring its allies and countries under its influence not to give any aid to Pakistan. Should the United States succeed in its efforts and its close allies such as Saudi Arabia, Canada, Australia, and other countries stop aid to Pakistan, we will face even more serious problems.

The purpose of U.S. efforts is obviously to make Pakistan a totally dependent country because of its economic problems. Pakistan will have to give up its freedom and independence, national pride, and identity and be at the mercy of the United States. The present government has started to sing the song of self-dependence to get out of this crisis and control the economic situation. It has also emphasized reducing nondevelopmental expenses, using products made in Pakistan instead of imports, and economizing in every aspect. These actions, if followed sincerely, can be very effective; however, these will not solve the present crisis. It is important to seek foreign exchange sources other than the United States. Pakistan should cooperate with Japan, Germany, the Soviet Union, and other industrialized countries, and get economic assistance from the Gulf countries. The [Gulf] countries do not lack capital, but they lack manpower and skilled labor. The sudden Iraqi attack on Kuwait and the dethronement of Kuwaiti shahs should open the eyes of the sheikhs in the Gulf. What happened in Kuwait today could happen to them tomorrow. Instead of depositing their money in the banks of Western countries, especially the United States and the United Kingdom, they should invest their capital in their own countries and in Pakistan. Not only will their investments be safe here, but they will also become political powers by making these areas economically strong.

The U. S. attitude has clearly showed to every Pakistani that the U.S. government has no interest in the welfare of Pakistan or its people. Instead, it wants to use Pakistan for its own interests. The 1965 and 1971 wars have also provided proofs of this attitude. Now that Pakistan is burdened by economic problems, the United States is demonstrating the same attitude.

Relations With U.S. Analyzed

91AS0458D Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Jan 91 p 3

[Article by Nayyar Zedi: "How Long U.S.-Pakistan Relations Remain Inharmonious?"]

[Text] How long will the relations between the United States and Pakistan remain problematic? The answer to this question is hidden in Mr. George Bush's following statement. He had said, "The nuclear issue is at the top of the agenda of challenges that our two countries are facing in our relations. Some of the articles of our laws in this area are well known. I sincerely hope that we will be able to agree while meeting these legal obligations."

President Bush had made this statement during the brief speech he gave on 17 December when he accepted diplomatic credentials from Mr. Najamuddin Sheikh, Pakistan's new ambassador to Washington.

Many different interpretations of this statement will be made. Some personnel in the foreign affairs ministry will call it a positive development and some will call it disappointing. As for me, I do not see any ray of hope in it. The laws to which the President was referring are not the traditional laws of the United States, and Pakistan has not broken any of them and damaged U.S. prestige. These laws were passed especially for Pakistan. Whenever Pakistan follows one legislation, another and more strict legislation is passed. First there was the Symington Amendment about uranium enrichment which helped stop aid to Pakistan. However, because of its own interests in Afghanistan, the United States ignored this amendment for eight and a half years. Then they came up with the Pressler Amendment and started the series of presidential reviews. The Congress wanted assurance from the President that Pakistan has no atomic bomb. This went on for two years as Pakistan was still crucial for sabotaging the Mujahadeen's victory. According to some U.S. sources, the Benazir government had stopped the process of enriching uranium. This helped to get fuel without problem under the Symington Amendment. Fearing that the new government might assure that there were no plans for making atom bombs, Ambassador Oakley made statements to the newspaper demanding not only proof of not having atomic bombs but also proving that Pakistan has no components for making the bomb.

The United States claims that these small developing countries may destroy each other with nuclear weapons. How widespread this destruction can be? This depends on the missile technology provided by the Western nations. When India had experimented with the mid-range missiles, the CIA director had openly accused an Indian scientist of stealing secrets while on an official visit for research at Norfolk. Missile parts were recovered from a suitcase owned by an Egyptian military attache at an airport. However, no law has been passed to stop transfer of technology. [The United States] is considering giving another supercomputer to India. Mr. Bush praised Pakistan for its stand over the Gulf issue and said that, "We will not tolerate forcible takeover of a democratic country." Had the United States followed this policy in 1971 when Pakistan was being broken by force, Pakistan would not have the need to make atomic bombs. The United States looked the other way when India landed armed forces in Sri Lanka under the pretext of restoring peace. Even now, when guerrilla insurgents from Tamil Nadu are trying to break up an independent nation on India's behalf, Mr. Bush is keeping quiet. He was also quiet at the massacre of Muslims in India and does not support the struggle of Kashmiri Muslims even though the United Nations has already approved a resolution supporting Kashmir's independence in 1949. This resolution was supported by all the members of the Security Council.

It was surprising that Ambassador Najamuddin Sheikh just said, "we support Kashmiri people's right for self rule," in his speech. This would have carried a lot of weight if he had also mentioned the UN resolutions at this point. This was also very important as Mr. Bush is giving a lot of importance to the United Nations these days.

The ambassador did not even mention the nuclear issue in his speech. Perhaps that was for some strategic reason; however, President Bush talked about it openly. Pakistani leaders should explain some important aspects of this issue instead of starting to stutter or appear that they are admitting a crime when this issue is discussed. The ambassador could have mentioned on this occasion that the great mission of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons would fail if an unconditional guarantee to defend smaller countries is not given. Would Iraq have attacked Kuwait if the latter had nuclear weapons? Do the Kuwaiti people have the assurance that the United States would send half a million soldiers for its defense? Can you expect Kuwaiti people and their leaders to let thousands of their people die and hundreds of thousands become homeless every seven years just to protect your policy of double standards? Would it not be easier and cheaper for Kuwait to use its wealth to buy some nuclear weapons for its defense and tell the world that anyone attacking would be wiped out?

Pakistani leaders, instead of talking softly, should openly discuss these aspects that force smaller countries like Pakistan to think about making nuclear weapons. If all smaller countries do not have unconditional guarantees for their defense, many other countries will follow this path.

Indian Arms Imports Viewed as Threat

91AS0457A Lahore MASHRIQ in Urdu 23 Dec 90 p 10

[Editorial: "India's Arms Hoarding"]

[Text] According to the International Research Institute, India has become the world's largest importer of arms. Last year, it bought Rs [rupees] 78 billion worth of arms. As a result, its defense budget has increased 8.62 percent this year. India is a poor country. The majority of its population have no shelter nor enough to eat. Why is India spending such a huge amount on armaments, especially when it is not threatened by any country? Imports of arms have been going on for many years. India used to buy advanced weapons from the Soviet Union, and now it is also acquiring modern weapons from the European countries, as well as manufacturing weapons locally. It conducted a nuclear test in 1974. Recently, it has manufactured two nuclear missiles, Parthoy and Agni. Parthoy and Agni have firing ranges of 600 km and 2,000 km respectively. Presently, India is manufacturing another missile, Tarshol. In addition, it has acquired two nuclear powered submarines from the Soviet Union and is also busy manufacturing nuclear submarines.

India's military preparations are clear examples of its imperialistic ambitions. Obviously, India does not need such huge quantities of arms which are being accumulated at the expense of its poor masses. India's dangerous plans are showing their true colors in occupied Kashmir, where people have started an independence movement to get rid of Indian occupation. India has deployed 300,000 troops to crush this movement. Kashmiri people are being killed, burned alive, and their arms and feet are broken without any mercy. It has been openly declared that Kashmir will not be allowed to split from India even if that means the destruction of the whole population.

India's violent police action is not confined to occupied Kashmir; it has also been gathering large numbers of troops on Pakistan's borders. Threats to Pakistan have become a routine. India's filthy plan to repeat East Pakistan's history in Sind has been discovered. Pakistan's army has defeated this plan. India is not even willing to allow Pakistan to buy weapons for its own defense. Whenever Pakistan tries to acquire weapons, India creates problems and starts screaming that the balance of power in South Asia is deteriorating.

India's attitude towards its small neighboring countries of Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, and Sri Lanka is extremely aggressive. Last year, India blockaded Nepal when it signed an agreement with China to meet its energy needs. India has already sent troops to Sri Lanka and Maldives.

Peace in South Asia continues to be threatened by India's aggressive ambitions. Yet, India continues to preach peace. If India is truly seeking peace, then why is it preparing militarily on such a large scale? Why is it unwilling to get rid of the causes for regional tensions? Pakistan has proposed several times to India to hold meaningful talks to reduce tension. The biggest tension between the two countries is the question of Kashmir. Already, talks at the secretarial level have been fruitless.

India Said Behind Sindh Violence

91AS0458B Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Jan 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Indian Efforts to Have Sindh Revolt"]

[Text] Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, foreign minister, said while answering a question in the senate, that India was trying to start a revolt in Sindh. According to him, India was using Sindhi communication media to urge the local people to an armed rebellion. All India Radio is allegedly sending secret messages to the instigators. The role of RA, the Indian intelligence agency, in insurgency, terrorism, abductions, bombing, and communal riots in Sindh is no secret. Local landlords, desperate youth, and some foreigners living in Karachi are used in this effort. The Hindus living in Sindh are also involved in these incidents. The Hindu teachers and students in various education institutions are playing the same role as did the Hindu population in East Pakistan. Many responsible people and the news media have tried to get the government's attention to this problem, however, the

former prime minister never took any notice. We expect some action from the present Muslim League government. The new Sindh government has not fully succeeded in establishing law and order in Sindh. Incidents involving abduction, robbery, and murder are still rampant. The military was called to control disturbance and violence in the past, but this is not a permanent solution of this problem. It is not the first time that we have admitted interference by India. The real problem is stopping this interference and protecting the citizens. The Sindh government has to involve all political groups in this effort. It must give exemplary and heavy sentences to the terrorists that are arrested. Only then will the citizens feel safe.

Jl Leader Urges Announcement of Nuclear Bomb

91AS0458C Karachi JANG in Urdu 30 Dec 90 p 3

[Article: "Should Announce Our Nuclear Capability"]

[Text] Lahore (by our special correspondent)—Qazi Hussain Ahmed, leader of the Jamaat-i Islami (JI), has demanded that the government should announce if it has nuclear capability in order to eliminate the tension from this region. He was talking to a special JANG correspondent last Friday. He said that the whole world's attention was focused on the nuclear debate between India and Pakistan and this was aggravating the situation. Commenting on the U.S. aid, Qazi Hussain Ahmed said that Professor Khursheed Ahmed believed that the suspension of the U.S. aid was God-sent. This would help us get rid of unnecessary expenses. He added that Pakistanis living in the United States wanted to invest money in Pakistan and this would help improve our self-dependence. In answer to a question, he said that there should be some legislation about floor-crossing, and action should be taken before the regular deadline for notification and clause is over. He said that there might be some amendment which would take place with the full vote. He added that some seats in legislative assemblies should be reserved for women; however, he was looking for a specific formula for it. He also said that he represented women in the legislative assembly, and it was not correct to divide women and men into separate categories. Commenting on the Afghanistan issue, he said that all the solutions offered so far are military in nature, and he believed that a diplomatic solution to the Afghan problem was impossible. While answering another question, Qazi Hussain Ahmed said that Pakistan's prime minister Nawaz Sharif had shown national pride by meeting with the U.S. ambassador Robert Oakley. This has made Pakistanis proud.

Nuclear Program Supported

Seen As Vehicle for Self-Reliance

91AS0417A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 24 Dec 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Nuclear Program Should Continue"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, in his address at a reception given by the Council of Pakistan Newspaper

Editors, clearly stated that Pakistan will not accept unilateral restrictions on the nuclear program. We will not accept any conditions by the United States that will challenge our self-respect and dignity. We will survive without aid, but we will not lose our national dignity. Prime Minister made these remarks in the presence of newspaper editors from all over the country. It appears that he wants to take Pakistan to her rightful destination and seems prepared to face difficult tasks ahead. Undoubtedly, in his remarks, he has expressed true national feelings. The United States is fully aware of the fact that Pakistan's nuclear program is for peaceful purposes and it has neither any aggressive plans against any country nor has it committed aggression against any country. In spite of this, every year the United States applies undue pressure on Pakistan concerning international loans and assistance. In the past, the leaders were corrupt and spent lavishly; therefore, they remained dependent upon aid and kept on compromising national sovereignty. This provided an opportunity for the U.S. and other aid-giving nations to exploit Pakistan.

Particularly, the United States treats Pakistan as a client state and considers it her right to interfere in our national and foreign policies. With the arrival of a new government in the country, our spirits have been lifted and we have decided to stand on our own feet without the help of foreign aid. It is imperative that we make it clear to the United States that, if it is unwilling to provide unconditional assistance, then there is no need for more clarifications, and current talks are useless. The Pakistani nation will fully support the Prime Minister on the policy for self-reliance.

Pakistan must continue its nuclear program and should refuse to accept any pressure from anyone. As far as people are concerned, they will fully support the Prime Minister and will not disappoint him in these trying times. However, Mr. Nawaz Sharif must keep an eye on his ministers and the civil service. If government can get rid of bribery and corruption, most of our problems can be solved and we can achieve self-reliance in a short time. A new period has started under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif. If we stay alert of internal and external conspiracies and keep our struggle alive, then we will succeed. We will not need to accept any foreign conditions for aid. During his speech, Mr. Nawaz Sharif also shed light on the question of Kashmir, the Afghan problem, killings of Muslims in India, the Hindu movement against the Babri mosque, and the Gulf crisis. He explained his government's policies. He stated that we will use all diplomatic and moral channels in support of the Kashmiris' struggle.

Talks will be held with the Soviet Union over Afghanistan and, God willing, the future Afghan government will be Pakistan's friend. The country is being prepared to deal with the crisis caused by the Gulf conflict. Talks were held with the Indian Prime Minister over Kashmir and the Babri mosque. In addition, he talked about his domestic policies and stated that promises made by the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) in its election manifesto will be kept.

He also made it clear that partisan politics is not his policy and he would like to reach an understanding with the opposition. It would not be incorrect to characterize his address to the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors as the policy speech. The country is facing danger and tough times. Therefore, it would be wise for the government to put aside partisan politics and take the opposition into its confidence and try to solve the problems faced by the nation.

Government Urged To 'Admit True Intentions'

91AS0417B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 24 Dec 90 p 6

[Article: "Pakistan Foreign Policy, Nuclear Bomb, and U.S. Aid. 'Atomic Lies' Will Not Get Us Respect Or Aid"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has stated that we will sell neither our destiny nor our independence for foreign aid. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in an interview to the NEW YORK TIMES that we do not accept U.S. conditions and we can live without U.S. aid. If talks with the U.S. fail, we are ready to suffer the consequences. Mr Sartaj Aziz, the Finance Minister, has stated that we do not need U.S. aid. We are temporarily facing difficulties due to the Gulf crisis. Once the conflict is resolved, our problems will also disappear. The President, Prime Minister, and Finance Minister did not express these opinions to receive a warm welcome in a political rally. In fact, they were quite serious and had thought about the consequences before they expressed their opinions about aid. This means that fairly soon a final decision will be made regarding the day-to-day bickering about aid, and year after year testing of our nerves by the U. S. will come to an end.

Pakistan's idea to be dishonest about our nuclear preparations is a mistake, which made us the target of U.S. pressure. On one hand, we are clandestinely building a nuclear bomb and, on the other hand, we are busy trying to convince the U.S. and the rest of the world that we do not have any intentions of building a nuclear bomb. The U.S. found a weak point in our dishonesty and has raised this issue every year. Now it has become increasingly difficult for us to give a straight answer. There is only one solution to this problem. We should clearly admit that we are making a nuclear bomb because India is also making it. If the U.S. is so much against this nuclear bomb, then it should persuade India to sign a nonproliferation agreement with us and accept all international safeguards and oversights. If the United States and the West are unable to persuade India on such an agreement or keep India from making a bomb, then it is necessary for Pakistan to build a nuclear bomb in response to an Indian nuclear bomb. If this policy had been officially in place from the very beginning, problems would have arisen only once and then it would have been forgotten.

Because of the fear of the U.S., we kept on telling lies and consequently, the U.S. found a reason to put pressure on us. This pressure kept on increasing and has now reached its extreme. Still, the only solution to this problem is to avoid the bureaucratic dishonesty taught by diplomacy and clearly announce that we are making a nuclear bomb and we will make a nuclear bomb. If we make such an announcement and remain firm in our position and make it clear that we will not accept any pressure, then the pressure will be directed towards India. India will be asked, if Pakistan is ready for an agreement, then why are you declining? But under the current situation, all of the pressure is on us. One reason behind this pressure is the perception created by the bureaucracy that just as fish cannot survive without water, Pakistan cannot survive without U.S. assistance. Actually, bureaucracy likes to have a good time, and for that it needs foreign assistance. We have enough resources to run the government in a simple fashion, and if necessary, this nation can provide more resources. That is, if we can see that the principle adopted by the government is based on national dignity and it is determined about it. In such circumstances, the nation will show the desire to sacrifice.

It is strange that, when in public, our leaders talk about building the nuclear bomb to make the public happy. For instance, Mr. Bhutto stated that we would make the bomb even if we had to eat grass. But, despite his public admission, officially the Bhutto government kept on denying our true nuclear intentions. During Zia's period, it was arranged that some journalists and scientists would keep on giving the hope of a nuclear bomb to the nation to attract its support. On the other hand, we kept on telling our atomic lies in the international arena. Now, on several occasions, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has clearly stated that we will definitely make a nuclear bomb. The ink on his statements has not dried yet and he can put an end to this confusion by repeating his statements as the Prime Minister. Whether the United States gives us aid or not, this will spare us the humiliation in the eyes of the world for telling lies.

Our bureaucracy is dishonest to its bone marrow. It believes that dishonesty is not only a must for the conduct of foreign policy but all policies in this area should be based 100 percent on dishonesty. This is an uneducated view. Successful foreign policies are based on truth. Even if this truth is bitter, people will slowly start accepting it, and we will stand on higher moral grounds for telling the truth. Nowadays, nothing can be kept secret and besides, the Superpowers know everything about the Third World countries. Therefore, you will not be able to cheat them. They know everything about your nuclear program. They also know that you can be stopped from going ahead with it [as published] and they have no other alternative but to give you aid. But, they need something to use as a pressure. We provide this with our lies. But, now the time has come to get out of this circle of lies.

If the government of Pakistan announces that we are making a nuclear bomb or we are close to making one or we have a nuclear bomb, then this announcement will have a strong reaction in India. Wise people in India will pressure their government to sign an agreement with Pakistan banning the manufacturing of nuclear weapons. This will make Pakistan's task easier and it will be easier to normalize relations between the two countries in the subcontinent. When faced with reality, there will be a concern in India that the two countries should find a way out of it instead of getting stuck in a nuclear trap. With the help of Indian and Pakistani writers, journalists, performers, philosophers, professors, students, and women, we can start a movement in the subcontinent demanding that India and Pakistan should sign an agreement rejecting the manufacturing of nuclear bombs. A no-war pact should be signed and steps towards the reduction of troops and armaments should be taken. Indian people will come forward for such a movement. Also, Indian capitalists, who are afraid of war, will realize the danger of nuclear war to their industrial plants and pressure the government to sign a meaningful agreement with Pakistan to get rid of this danger permanently. Along with this, international opinion will be alerted by our announcement and pressure will be applied on India. As far as the U.S. aid is concerned, the President, Prime Minister, and Finance Minister have correctly stated that we can live without it. If we can get rid of our bad habits, we can even live a better life. We need to balance our imports with exports. We spend twice as much on imports compared with what is earned through exports. We need to curtail our imports and not exceed our spending on imports more than what is earned through exports. We need to cut expenditures at our embassies and on foreign trips. At home, we should place restrictions on the use of everything, and no one should be allowed to spend lavishly. Even if the U.S. terminates aid, with the closing of one door, several new doors will open. We can increase our economic cooperation with Japan, Germany, Arab countries, and the Third World countries and can receive benefits from them. Saudi Arabia granted a loan of 4 billion dollars to the Soviet Union when, until recently, the former did not even recognize the latter. This is equivalent to one trillion Pakistani rupees. If we do all the right things and build our reputation, there is a lot of money in the Third World. Even the U.S. is debtor to the Third World. If we actually embark on the road to industrialization and put an end to the bureaucratic economy, we will be able to stand on our own feet and will not need to panhandle. But, this can only take place when we make honesty instead of dishonesty our clear policy, and when our people and the world are fully aware of it. This will build our reputation. It will spare us the humiliation of repeated threats to cut aid. It will also spare us from begging to explain that sir, we are not making a nuclear bomb, you are mistaken, please trust us and continue aid.

Sources of Terrorist Incidents Examined

91AS0419C Islamabad HURMAT WEEKLY in Urdu
26 Nov 90 pp 12, 13

[Article by Khalid Seyal under byline, "Islamabad Diary" entitled, "Bomb Explosion in Islamabad: There Will be More"]

[Text] Argenta Park in Islamabad is small but its location in the heart of the city makes it important. The park is flanked on one side by Islamabad's busy Melody Market and, on the other, by the large Polyclinic Hospital. Residential areas occupy the other two sides.

About 1330 on 10 November, when life was proceeding normally and some people were in the park basking in the sun, a man clad in pants and shirt sat down by a tree. Eyewitnesses say that he was carrying something in his hand and he proceeded to connect wires to the object; just then there was a loud explosion and he was blown to bits. Part of his body turned to mincemeat and was scattered all over. Bits of his body hung from the trees in the park. The trunk of the tree against which he was leaning turned red to a height of four feet as though it had been dipped in blood. One of the man's ribs penetrated a tree trunk as deeply as an arrow. Bits of flesh were spattered on the walls of the ministry of religious affairs. The lower half of the man's body was shredded; only the trunk and face remained more or less intact.

The explosion was so violent that the sound was heard three miles away. People sitting in the park and near it panicked. The incident occurred 150 yards from the Abpara police station. This bomb blast under the very noses of the police poses a great challenge to them.

According to reliable sources, the man was connected with the Al Zulfiqar organization and was sitting in the park setting the timing mechanism on the bomb which was to have been placed in a busy location. Owing to technical malfunction or mental stress, the timing mechanism was not set properly and the man himself became the victim and a lesson to others. Take heed, O you who have eyes to see.

Obviously, the nearby Melody Market is crowded with shoppers and there are also private and government offices located there. On the other side, at the Polyclinic Hospital, a large number of patients are always coming and going. If, God forbid, the criminal had reached either of these places, there might have been heavy loss of life. The bomb disposal squad said the bomb was a five-pound plastic bomb which could have created destruction in a crowded area.

Various circles are speculating as to the group to which the saboteur belonged; some think that it was the work of RA, the Indian secret agency; others think that Al Zulfiqar was the perpetrator, and still others see the hand of KHAD, the Afghan secret agency, behind the sabotage. Whatever group the criminal might have belonged to, the discovery of a large number of currency notes

near the scene of the explosion showed that the criminal was paid a large sum of money to carry out the deed and that he had the backing of a large and well-organized saboteur group. It should also be noted that the time of explosion was set after a great deal of deliberation which points to organized planning. Since schools and colleges are closed at that time and it is lunch and prayer time in government offices, there are large crowds around.

RA and KHAD's hatred for Pakistan, their negative activities, the presence of their agents in Pakistan, and their connection with Al Zulfiqar are well known. The nation knows as well Al Zulfiqar's past and its terrorist activities. If one takes into account the tension in the People's Party following its defeat in the October elections and its ouster from office, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that Al Zulfiqar arranged the incident as a "greeting" to the new government of Nawaz Sharif. We think that this is only the first gift to the Nawaz Sharif government by Al Zulfiqar and that other explosions will follow to teach a lesson to the government. It is thus necessary to make far-reaching plans to stop these incidents.

According to our information, during its twenty months in office, the former government appointed several trained members of Al Zulfiqar to various posts in Islamabad. Now that the people have rejected the People's Party's leadership, it may want to retaliate against the people and demand that these supporters fulfill their obligations. In this context, one should remember Pir Pagaro's statement that 6,000 Al Zulfiqar trained saboteurs had entered Pakistan.

The question is, with all the strict security arrangements in Islamabad and policemen stationed at every crossroad and corner, how was it possible for the saboteur to reach Islamabad's central locality carrying such a large bomb? Could it be that a secret hand lurks behind the blue uniform? It remains to be seen as to how and when law enforcement agencies and secret investigative departments will catch up with these secret hands and what steps they will take to maintain law and order in the country. It is an established fact that after its defeat in the elections, Pakistan's People's Party has decided not to rest until it has brought about the failure of the Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad government even if the blood of many innocent civilians is shed in the process.

HURMAT's pages bear witness that we told the people a week ago that Benazir Bhutto had asked for her terrorist brother Murtaza Bhutto's help in creating bloodshed in Pakistan; the signs of this are now gradually beginning to appear.

CNN Said Corrupting National Values

91AS0459A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 Dec 90 p 3

[Editorial: "The Bane of CNN"]

[Text] There is a common complaint about irresponsibility and immorality in our nation and the main reason

for this is the life popularized by movies now moving right into our living rooms. Video recorders and video cassette players have played an important role in this change. The Pakistan Television had started showing Pakistani movies during the Benazir regime, and this is still being done. The People's Television Network (PTN) was established during Benazir's government. First, this network blessed Islamabad and its surrounding areas and then made the people in Karachi happy. From what we hear, this network will be expanded to 20 more cities in Pakistan. It would be a waste of time to talk about the developments during Benazir's government because she was educated and trained in Europe and the United States. She considered the Islamic laws decayed and Islamic commandments unacceptable. Her father arranged to open casinos in Pakistan. Why should she not introduce the fruits of American television to Pakistani people? What bothers us is that even Mr. Jatoi's caretaker government allowed this station to continue and Mr. Nawaz Sharief not only let it continue but also allowed it to expand.

This network broadcasts Cable News Network (CNN) most of the time. The CNN usually airs news programs,

news commentaries, fashion shows, disgraceful scenes from Hollywood, and fashion shows modeling clothes that emphasize nudity. All these shows are in American English which is understood by less than 0.1 percent of people in this country. Then PTN sold the 0700 to midnight time slot to NTM and permitted it to air comedy programs in English, some artistic programs, and one English or Urdu movie daily. As the result of this, most people do not sleep until they have seen all these programs. The electricity bills in homes have increased, and the education of children has been badly affected. No educational or social programs are aired on this network. It only shows old and immoral Pakistani movies. If the goal is to inform and educate people, then this channel has failed in its goals. The government should pay attention to this very important problem and order the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting either to close this channel or take steps to improve programming. It should offer better programs in local languages to help educate the people. This will help the people in Pakistan. Continuance of this channel in the present format does not help anyone. It is a blight for the people.

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